The Planting of Princeton College.

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(Reprinted from The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, for April, 1897.)

THE PLANTING OF PRINCETON COLLEGE.

I. The Beginnings of University Life in America.

THE course of study pursued in American colleges, the goal of which is an education described distinctively as humane or liberal, is easily traced to the seven liberal arts which passed over from the schools of Greece and Rome to the Christian nations of western Europe. The great North African father, St. Augustine, who more than any other western writer determined the theology of the Latin Church, in constructing his system of doctrine gave character also to the system of education which that church accepted and promoted. In his essay on the Christian doctrine, he places a high value on the knowledge to be derived and on the discipline to be secured from the books of the heathen, as introductory to the study of the Divine Revelation. And the Divine Revelation, as thus newly apprehended, becomes, in his view, both the test of truth and the measure of intellectual values. In his tract, *De Ordine*, an essay on the right method of developing the powers of the mind, he recognizes seven as the complete number of the liberal arts; though it is not easy in his list to find the *trivium*, the circle of the formal arts, and the *quadrivium*, the circle of the material arts, which afterwards were clearly distinguished.

From North Africa and Italy this curriculum was carried into Britain. There it was given a home, largely under the influence of Wilfrid, who, at the Council of Whitby, in 664, led the Latin or Benedictine party and overbore the Celtic influence which threatened to command the English Church and to give character to its worship and its life. The victory of Wilfrid at Whitby resulted

Reprinted from the April, 1897, number of The Presbyterian and Reformed Review.

not only in the adoption of the western tonsure and the western mode of computing the date of Easter, but also in the establishment in the growing towns of Northumbria of schools for the study of the liberal arts. Of these schools, no one became more prominent or more widely useful than the school founded by Egbert, Archbishop of York, of which Aelbert became the master, and in which Alcuin received his education; of which, also, Alcuin became first the assistant master, and afterwards the principal. It was a fortunate event for the western world, that, just at the time when the Lombards were laying waste the cities of Italy, this liberal education found a home in the north of England; and it was quite as fortunate, that, before the Danish invasion destroyed the institutions of learning in England, the same curriculum was carried from England by Alcuin himself, and, largely through his labors, organized into monastic and cathedral schools in Charles the Great's kingdom of the Franks.

The interest of Charles in the education of his people was sincere and profound; and he could have secured no one as his minister of education better fitted than was Alcuin, by learning and ardor and industry, to organize a system of schools for the kingdom. It is not too much to say, that the future of large and generous culture in western Europe had never since the breaking up of the Western Empire appeared brighter than it did when, at the close of the eighth century, Charlemagne was crowned in Rome as the successor of Constantine. But with the death of Charles and the division of his kingdom, the *seculum obscurum* may almost be said to have commenced. The power which had been centralized in the crown was dissipated throughout the empire. Those who had been the emperor's administrative agents, representing him as lords of the counties, became hereditary and almost independent sovereigns over their small domains. Instead of a strong monarch, a multitude of feudal lords ruled western Europe. This dissipation of power was followed by disaster to some of the highest interests of society. It made possible the pornocracy in the capital of Christendom. It substituted for a large and imposing government a multitude of small and warring tyrannies. On nothing was its influence more disastrous than on the schools of the liberal arts which Charles and Alcuin had labored so hard to establish and endow. Everywhere they fell into decay; and with their decay, worship became more sensuous and religion more superstitious and less moral, until there appeared no good ground for hope of a revival of learning, or of a reformation of religion, or of the reorganization of society.

Yet the institutions of modern civilization had not died. They were as an oak whose substance is in it when it casts its

leaves. The tenth century, the century of the dark age, had not passed before the Holy Roman Empire in its second form was unified under Otho the Great; and the eleventh century had finished only half of its course when the institutions of religion began to be reformed and consolidated under the leadership of Hildebrand. These were the tokens and the results of a vital movement which did not exhaust itself in the spheres of civil and ecclesiastical government. The energy of the new life was quite as manifest in the sphere of pure thought which it quickened, and in the educational institutions which it reformed or created. The awakened intellect of the eleventh century applied itself, with an earnestness which has never been surpassed, to the study of the great problems in philosophy and theology; and this at many centres throughout western Europe. For the study of these problems no better preparation was found than the curriculum of the schools of Charlemagne extended and developed to satisfy the demands of the new age. Less emphasis, indeed, was placed on classical culture and more value was attached to dialectics than in the days of Charles; for the great work now consciously before the mind of Europe was the organization and defense of the theology of the Church and its correlation to fundamental truth.

As a result of this revival, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the universities of mediæval Europe appeared. They appear so suddenly and at so many points that it is difficult, in the rapidity of the movement, to note the several steps of their historical development. They appeared, to mention only a few of them, at Salerno and Bologna in Italy, at Paris, at Cologne, and later at Oxford and Cambridge. They were substantially guilds of students, gathered to listen to the discourses of great lecturers on subjects either within the limits of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* or without those limits on subjects for which the study of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* had prepared them; or they were guilds of lecturers who attracted students. On the teachers who constituted the faculty of each of these universities was bestowed by the pope or the monarch the privilege of teaching, and this developed into the right to grant licenses to teach. The license soon became the master's degree (*Magister Studentium*), which is historically the first of the degrees in the liberal arts.* At these universities, owing to the necessities of the students,

* A degree was a license to teach. It carried with it the *jus docendi*. Master, Doctor and Professor were at first interchangeable words designating one who had received a license. The Bachelor was a student and apprentice. He could teach under the direction and supervision of a master, but not independently. Still he had taken a step (*gradum*) toward the mastership or doctorate and so may be said to have attained a degree, or been graduated.

colleges were soon established. These were houses founded by the munificence of the benevolent for a specific number of scholars. They were founded to provide food and lodging and personal instruction for their inmates, and to give to them a household government and religious direction which might hold them safe amid the temptations of a large and free community. So Oxford was established in the twelfth century, and Cambridge a few years later. At the close of the century Oxford was the seat of a university, and early in the thirteenth century the University of Cambridge was organized with a chancellor as its chief officer. Around these universities grew up the colleges; as University and Balliol at Oxford, as Peterhouse and Pembroke at Cambridge; and the large and beneficent influence of both university and college on the life of England was soon and widely recognized.

The earliest colleges planted in America not only adopted the curriculum of the European universities and manifested their spirit in new conditions, but are descended from them. Almost the youngest of the colleges of Cambridge is Emmanuel, founded in 1584. From the beginning of its life it was the home of Puritanism.* Indeed, from the beginning of the Puritan movement this was true of the university. Before Emmanuel College existed, as Mr. Froude has said, "Cambridge, which had been the nursery of the reforms, retained their spirit. When Cambridge offended the government of Elizabeth it was by oversympathy with Cartwright and the Puritans." This sympathy with Puritanism on the part of the university at the close of the sixteenth century was most intense in Emmanuel. From Emmanuel came the most of the founders of Harvard. In this way, just when Emmanuel College had passed the first half century of its existence, Cambridge University became the mother of the oldest of the American universities. Thus, both because of intellectual and religious sympathy, and by the mode of a visible historical descent, the spirit of the institution which had long existed on the banks of the Cam in England, was embodied in the new institution of learning established on the bank of the Charles in New England. So strong was the sense of their indebtedness to the university in the mother country, and so intense was the feeling of historical relationship, that the founders of Harvard changed the name of the village in which the

* "Emmanuel owed its origin to the same movement of thought which produced your Commonwealth, and the ideas which found expression on the coast of Massachusetts Bay were fostered in Sir Walter Mildmay's new College at Cambridge. Emmanuel College was founded to be a stronghold of the Puritan party in the days when they were waging a stubborn and determined war for the possession of the English Church."—Prof. Mandell Creighton, *Record of Harvard University's 250th Anniversary*, p. 277.

new college was given a home from Newtown to Cambridge. The college soon justified the hopes of its founders; the hopes especially of that "reverend and godly lover of learning," John Harvard, who endowed it with one-half of his entire property, and from whom it obtained its name.

Sixty-five years later Harvard College became, in turn, the mother of another college. For just as Harvard traces its origin to graduates of Emmanuel, Yale traces its beginnings to the Rev. James Pierpont, a Harvard graduate of the class of 1681, and the Rev. Abraham Pierson, a Harvard graduate of the class of 1668. The governor of Massachusetts, Earl Bellamont, when addressing the General Court of the Province in 1699, made this remark: "It is a very great advantage you have above other provinces, that your youth are not put to travel for learning, but have the muses at their doors." It was not only the disadvantage of distance which the establishment of Harvard College overcame, but the disadvantage also which the non-conforming subjects of Great Britain at that time suffered, of inability, because non-conformists, to enjoy the advantages of the English universities. Still distance alone was thought a disadvantage in Connecticut. At the close of the seventeenth century the population of the New England colonies had risen to one hundred thousand; and already, in the colony of Connecticut, with a population of fifteen thousand, the need of an institution of liberal learning was deeply felt. Like the founders of the college at Cambridge, Massachusetts, those most active in founding Yale College were ministers of the Gospel, the most of them graduates of Harvard. In Dexter's historical sketch of Yale University, he says that "tradition describes a meeting of a few Connecticut pastors at Branford, the next town east of New Haven, about the last of September, 1701, and implies that to constitute a company of founders, those then met gave (or probably, for themselves and in the name of their most active associates, agreed to give) a collection of books, as the foundation for a college in the colony." The college charter clearly indicates that the end intended to be secured by the establishment of Yale was that which had led to the founding of Harvard and the universities from which it was descended. Full liberty and privileges were granted to the undertakers "for the founding, suitably endowing and ordering a collegiate school within His Majesty's colonies of Connecticut wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences who, through the blessing of Almighty God, may be fitted for public employment in the Church and civil State." During the same year, 1701, the trustees under the charter held their first meeting; and Yale College began its great and beneficent career.

Harvard and Yale, with the Virginia College of William and Mary, the last founded by a royal charter in 1693, were the only institutions of higher learning in the colonies at the commencement of the eighteenth century. In important respects they were alike in origin and aim. Each of them arose among a homogeneous people. Each was the college of a people compacted by common religious beliefs and common modes of worship, by common social customs and ideals. Each was the college of but a single colony, separated from the other colonies by distance, by its special government, and not seldom by conflicting interests. Each was a college born of the needs of the religious communion which was united with the State: and, what it is specially important to notice, each was born at a time when the colonies stood separate from one another, each colony valuing most highly what was distinctive in its constitution, and conscious only of a loose union with the other colonies through the common government across the sea. Each came into existence years before the colonists began to realize their unity as Americans, and to be conscious of their affection for a common country.

The conditions under which the fourth American college, the college at Princeton, was born, gave to it in important respects a different character. It was not the college of an established Church. It was not the college of a single colony. It was not the college of a people sprung from a single nationality. It sprang out of the life of a voluntary religious communion which had spread itself over several colonies, and which united a large portion of their people in common aims and activities; and it sprang into being at the time when Americans were beginning to be conscious of their unity as Americans, and when the sentiment of patriotism for a common country was beginning to energize in united political action. In this way, at its birth, this fourth American college had impressed upon it a national and American character, which it has never lost, which has largely determined its patronage and its policy, and which, during the war of independence and the period of constitutional construction following the war, enabled it to render great and special services to the United States.

The middle colonies, unlike New England, were settled by peoples holding differing creeds and sprung from several nationalities. When East and West Jersey were united in 1702, the Province of New Jersey formed by the union contained fifteen thousand souls. This population was made up mainly of English Friends, of New England Puritans, and of Presbyterians from Scotland and Ireland. The settlers increased rapidly; so that when, in 1738, the Province sought an administration distinct from that of

New York, it contained not less than forty thousand people. The conquest of New York by the British had introduced into that city and the colony to which it belonged a mixed population. The Province of Pennsylvania, organized by the liberal constitution called "The Holy Experiment," had opened its vast territory to English Friends, Germans of the Reformed, Lutheran and Anabaptist Churches and Presbyterians from the north of Ireland. The wave of immigration from Presbyterian Ulster, on touching the American shore, spread itself more widely than any other. Scoto-Irish Presbyterians were to be found in New York, in New Jersey, in Pennsylvania and in the southern colonies. They easily allied themselves with each other and in the middle colonies with the Puritan settlers from New England. This alliance between the Scoto-Irish and the New England Puritans gave to the Presbyterian Church, from the beginning, what may be called properly an American as distinguished from a New England or Scotch-Irish character. The Presbytery of Philadelphia, organized as early as 1705 or 1706, by seven ministers, represented at least four sources of the colonial population. In 1717 a synod was formed with the three presbyteries of Long Island, Philadelphia and New Castle. This organization was the strongest bond between a large part of the growing population in the three adjoining colonies. It united them in a single church. It brought together, often and at stated times, their religious leaders. The Puritan clergymen of East Jersey who were graduates of Harvard or Yale, and the Scotch-Irish ministers of Pennsylvania who had won their degrees at Glasgow or Edinburgh, met and conferred at the synod and, after their return to their parishes, corresponded with one another on the welfare of their congregations, of the communities in which they lived, and of what they were beginning to call their common country. In these conversations and letters, the need of ministers for the rapidly multiplying churches, and the need also of educated leaders for the rapidly forming communities were often mentioned for the reason that they were deeply felt. The conviction soon became strong and wellnigh unanimous, that these needs could only be supplied by a college for the middle colonies.

II. The Origin of the College of New Jersey.

In presenting the origin of Princeton College, one can best begin by repeating the statement just made, namely, that during the first half of the eighteenth century, by far the strongest bond uniting a large proportion of the population of southern New York, East and West Jersey and the Province of Pennsylvania, was the organ-

ized Presbyterian Church. It constituted for these people a far stronger social tie than the common sovereignty of Great Britain; for this sovereignty was manifested in different forms in the different colonies; and, except in Pennsylvania, where the proprietary's spirit of toleration had fair play, it neither deserved nor received the affection of the colonists. In an important sense the British rule was that of a foreign power. The New Englanders in East Jersey were settlers under a government in whose administration they had no share. Far from controlling, they could with difficulty influence the political action of the governor and his council. In southern New York the Dutch were restive under the English domination. In New York city and on Long Island the relations between the Scottish Presbyterians and New England Puritans on one hand, and the English Episcopalians on the other, were often severely strained; and it was only the latter to whom, on the whole, the king's representative was at all friendly. In Pennsylvania there were English Friends, Germans who had been invited by Penn to settle in the eastern counties of the Province, and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The last-named immigrants landed at the port of Philadelphia in large numbers and took up farms in the rich valleys between the mountain ranges. From the "Irish settlement" at the union of the Delaware and the Lehigh where the city of Easton now stands, to Harris' Ferry on the Susquehanna, now the capital of the State, there were many Presbyterian communities; and from these, in turn, moved new emigrations to the great valley, called the Cumberland Valley, north of the Potomac, and, south of that river, the Valley of Virginia.

These differing populations formed segregated communities in each of the colonies; and the affection felt by them for the common government of Great Britain being weak, the middle colonies were not held together by the feeling of a common national life. But a religious union, embracing a considerable number of settlers in each of the provinces, was rapidly growing; and this religious union was to exert an important and continually increasing influence both in unifying the colonies and in making America, and not a country across the sea, the object of the deepest patriotic affection. This religious union was the Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterians of the middle colonies and of Maryland and Virginia had secured a visible unity when, in 1705 or 1706, their pastors and churches were organized as a presbytery. Touching the character of this organization, there has been a good deal of debate. But whether formed on the model of the English presbyterial association* or on that of the more highly specialized Scotch presbytery,

* Briggs' *Amer. Pres.*, p. 139.

the Presbytery of Philadelphia, as it was popularly called, furnished a means of association and of interchange of ideas among the English-speaking clergymen who were scattered along the Atlantic coast from Cape Charles to Montauk Point. Into this new ecclesiastical organization soon came the New England congregations of East Jersey. By 1720 the Presbyterian Church was composed of German, Dutch, Scotch-Irish and New England elements.

The rapid growth of the population, the need of new churches and the opportunities offered to organize them impressed on the Presbyterian ministers of that day the need of an increase in their own ranks. Others might be depended upon to organize the material elements of civilization in the new communities; but, just as it was at an earlier date in New England, the duty of providing religious teachers for the people was largely left to the ministers already at work. Francis Makemie, the first Presbyterian minister to come from Ireland to America, gave expression to his anxiety on this subject in letters written to Increase Mather of Boston and to correspondents in Ireland and London. In response to calls from the settlers, some ministers came from New England and others from Ireland; but the supply was far from being equal to the demand. As the churches multiplied, the original presbytery was divided into several presbyteries, and these were organized as a synod. And the members of the synod, becoming more distinctly conscious of their mission to their common country, began to agitate the question of their independence, in respect to ministerial education, of both Great Britain and New England.

This agitation did not terminate in itself. A few ministers, unwilling to wait for ecclesiastical action, opened private schools in which they taught the liberal arts; and to the students thus prepared who desired to become readers in divinity, they offered themselves as preceptors. Precisely these steps in behalf of liberal education were taken by the two Presbyterian ministers of New Jersey who afterwards became the first two presidents of Princeton, Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabethtown, and Aaron Burr of Newark. Still another Presbyterian minister, William Tennent, opened a private school destined to become far more influential than the school of either Dickinson or Burr. This was the Log College at the Forks of the Neshaminy.

William Tennent was born in Ireland in 1673. We owe to the investigations of Dr. Briggs our knowledge of the fact that he was graduated at the University of Edinburgh, July 11, 1695.* He was admitted to deacon's orders in the Church of Ireland by the Bishop

* *American Presbyterianism*, p. 186.

of Down in 1704, and two years later was ordained a priest. Though an Episcopalian, he was related by blood to Ulster Presbyterians, and he married the daughter of Gilbert Kennedy, the Presbyterian pastor of Dundonald. His father-in-law had suffered during one of the persecutions of the non-conformists, and the story of his hardships may be responsible for Tennent's renunciation of the Church of Ireland. At all events, "after having been in orders a number of years, he became scrupulous of conforming to the terms imposed on the clergy of the Establishment, and was deprived of his living, and there being no satisfactory prospect of usefulness at home, he came to America." * He landed at Philadelphia with his four sons in 1716. Two years later he applied for admission to the Synod of Philadelphia. The committee to whom his application was referred were satisfied with his credentials, with the testimony concerning him of some of the brethren connected with the synod, and with the material reasons he offered for "his dissenting from the established Church in Ireland." These reasons were recorded in the synod's minutes, *ad futuram rei memoriam*, he was voted a minister of the Presbyterian Church, and "the Moderator gave him a serious exhortation to continue steadfast in his holy profession." After laboring at East Chester and Bedford in New York, he removed in 1721 to Pennsylvania, and took charge of two congregations, Ben-Salem and Smithfield in the county of Bucks. Five years later he accepted a call to a congregation in the same county, at a point afterwards called the Forks of the Neshaminy. Whether a church had been organized before his arrival cannot now be positively determined. A house of worship was built about 1727. Here he lived for twenty years, during sixteen of which he was actively engaged as the pastor of the church. His personality is not well enough known to enable one to draw his portrait even in outline. Two things concerning him, however, are well known; his religious and missionary zeal and his exceptional attainments in classical learning. "While an orthodox creed and a decent external conduct," writes Archibald Alexander, "were the only points upon which inquiry was made when persons were admitted to the communion of the church, and while it was very much a matter of course for all who had been baptized in infancy to be received into full communion at the proper age," † this did not satisfy Mr. Tennent. The evangelical spirit which burned in the members of the Holy Club at Oxford inflamed the pastor of Neshaminy. He desired as communicants only the subjects of a conscious supernatural experience.

* Webster, *Hist. Pres. Church*, p. 365.

† *Log College*, p. 23.

When Whitefield first visited Philadelphia, Mr. Tennent called upon him at once and they soon became intimate friends. He admired Whitefield's oratory, and was in full sympathy with his methods as a revivalist. Whitefield cordially reciprocated Tennent's friendship. He found no one in the colonies in whose companionship he was more strengthened and comforted. He spent many days at the Forks of the Neshaminy, and it is to his journal that we are indebted for the best description of the Log College.

William Tennent's deep sense of the value of a liberal education, his desire to extend its benefits to his four sons, his determination to relieve, so far as he might be able, the destitution of ministers in the church with which he was connected, and his ambition to propagate his own views of preaching and of the religious life, led him, soon after his settlement at Neshaminy, to open a school of liberal learning and of divinity. His cousin, James Logan, Secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, gave him for this purpose fifty acres on Neshaminy Creek. There he raised a log building as a study for his pupils. It was as humble as the cabin of reeds and stubble which Abelard built for himself at Nogent, and which was made famous by the flocking of students from Paris to hear the words of the master. "The place where the young men study now," writes George Whitefield in his journal, "is in contempt called *the College*. It is a log house, about twenty feet long, and near as many broad; and to me it resembled the schools of the old prophets. For that their habitations were mean, and that they sought not great things for themselves, is plain from that passage of Scripture wherein we are told that, at the feast of the sons of the prophets, one of them put on the pot, whilst the others went to fetch some herbs out of the field. From this despised place, seven or eight ministers of Jesus have lately been sent forth, more are almost ready to be sent, and a foundation is now being laid for the instruction of many others."

The annals of the Log College are "the short and simple annals of the poor." Its life was brief, and of those who studied there we possess no complete list. Most of the ministers of Pennsylvania, while they probably regarded it with fear, spoke of it with contempt. When Tennent died, no one continued his work. The building has long since decayed or been destroyed, and its site within the fifty acres is not clearly known. But the work done by the Log College was a great work. Tennent convinced the Presbyterians of the middle colonies that they need not and ought not to wait upon Great Britain and New England for an educated ministry; and through his pupils and the pupils of his pupils he did more than any other man of his day to destroy customs which were as bonds to the

church, and to teach his brethren that evangelical feeling and missionary zeal were necessary to fulfill the mission of his communion in the growing colonies. "To William Tennent above all others is owing the prosperity and enlargement of the Presbyterian Church."*

From this school were graduated the four sons of the elder Tennent, and not a few others who became eminent in the church; some of them in connection with the early life of Princeton College, and, before that college was founded, as founders of institutions like the one from which they came. One of these was Samuel Blair, who established a classical school at Fagg's Manor, or New Londonderry, where John Rodgers, afterwards the pastor of the Brick Church in New York city, Samuel Davies, Princeton's fourth president, and William Maclay, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, were educated. Indeed it may be said that by nothing is the high character of the Log College education more satisfactorily evidenced than by the attainments and efficiency of Samuel Blair and his brother John, upon both of whom Tennent had impressed his religious views and his zeal for the higher learning. No less distinguished than the Blairs was Samuel Finley, who succeeded Davies as president of Princeton College. That he was one of Tennent's students is not certain, but it is in the highest degree probable. Tennent's school was in existence when Finley came from Ireland to Philadelphia to continue his studies. There was no other school near at hand at which students for the ministry were educated. That his name does not appear in any list of Tennent's pupils is not proof that he did not attend the school, for no list pretending to be complete is in existence. He united with Tennent's presbytery and was licensed by it. When he became a pastor he opened a school like the Log College. And during all his life he supported the distinctive views which were associated with Tennent's name. What Samuel Blair did at Fagg's Manor in Pennsylvania, Samuel Finley did at Nottingham in Maryland. He founded a seminary for classical study and for the training of ministers. How important its career was is shown by the fact that "at one time, there was a cluster of young men at the school who all were afterwards distinguished, and some of them among the very first men in the country. Gov. Martin of North Carolina; Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, and his brother, Judge Jacob Rush, Ebenezer Hazard, Esq., of Philadelphia; the Rev. James Waddel, D.D., of Virginia; the Rev. Dr. McWhorter, of Newark; Col. John Bayard, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Gov. Henry, of Maryland, and the Rev. Wil-

* Webster, *Hist. Pres. Church.*

liam M. Tennent, of Abington, Pennsylvania." * Less successful because of the temper of the principal was the school of another pupil, John Roan of Derry.

The ministers educated in these schools soon showed themselves equal to positions in the colonies usually occupied by graduates of the Scottish universities or the New England colleges. And it was their success which led the synod to take action in 1739 looking to the establishment of a college for the whole Church. In that year an overture for erecting a seminary of learning was presented to the synod. "The Synod unanimously approved the design of it, and in order to accomplish it did nominate Messrs. Pemberton, Dickinson, Cross and Anderson, two of which, if they can be prevailed upon, to be sent home to Europe to prosecute this affair with proper directions. And in order to this, it is appointed that the committee of the Synod, with correspondents from every Presbytery, meet in Philadelphia the third Wednesday of August next. And if it be found necessary that Mr. Pemberton should go to Boston pursuant to this design, it is ordered that the Presbytery of New York supply his pulpit during his absence." †

Two of the committee, Messrs. Pemberton and Dickinson, were natives of New England; Pemberton was graduated at Harvard and Dickinson at Yale. Dr. Anderson was from Scotland and Mr. Cross was from Ireland. The committee at once entered upon its duties, but the period did not favor the prosecution of the scheme. "While the committee concluded upon calling the whole Synod together for the purpose of prosecuting the overture respecting a seminary of learning, yet the war breaking out between England and Spain, the calling of the Synod was omitted and the whole affair laid aside for that time." ‡ This was the last legislative action taken upon the subject by the united church. Had the synod founded a college it is not probable that Princeton would have been selected as its site; and had Princeton been selected, the institution, by its official relation to the church, would have had a character and career very different from those of the College of New Jersey.

But a conflict now began within the synod which led to its division in 1742. The conflict and the resulting division were due to the activity of two parties holding opposing opinions as to the value of vivid religious experiences and of preaching designed immediately to call forth religious confession, and as to the learning requisite for admission to the ministry. On the one hand was

* *Log College*, pp. 305, 306.

† *Records of the Presbyterian Church* ‡ *Ibid.*, Minutes, 1740.

the party of the Log College. A number of its graduates and friends had been erected into the Presbytery of New Brunswick. This presbytery had licensed John Rowland, a student of the Log College, and had intruded him within the bounds of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, in violation of a rule of the synod; for the synod had taken action that no candidate for the ministry having only a private education should be licensed by any presbytery, until such candidate's learning had been passed upon by a committee appointed for that purpose. The synod adopted a resolution which characterized the presbytery's conduct as disorderly, and admonished the presbytery to avoid "such divisive courses" in the future. Moreover, the synod refused to recognize Rowland as a minister, and ordered him to submit to the examinations for those who had only a private education. The members of the Presbytery of New Brunswick were intensely indignant. They asserted that the synod's action reflected seriously upon the character of the training received at the Log College; that it showed the synod to be absolutely blind to the religious needs of the growing colonies; that it was an undeserved rebuke administered to the man who, more intelligently and faithfully than any other minister of the church, had labored and sacrificed in the interest of classical and theological education; and that it had its origin in the synod's wilful opposition to vital religion. The other party, to which a majority of the synod belonged, was recruited largely from the Scotch-Irish clergy of Pennsylvania. Between these two parties stood the Presbytery of New York, led by Dickinson and Pemberton. What the members of New York Presbytery could do in the way of pacification they did. But the conflict from its beginning was too bitter to be composed: and it was made more bitter by the visit to America of George Whitefield and the participation of the Log College and New Brunswick men in Whitefield's revival measures. A division of the synod was inevitable. It took place in 1742. The Presbytery of New York, though separating in that year from the Synod of Philadelphia, did not at once unite with the Presbytery of New Brunswick. But negotiations for such a union were soon begun. In 1745 the union was effected, and the Synod of New York, formed by the union of the Presbyteries of New York, New Brunswick and New Castle, the latter made up wholly of Log College men, was constituted.

This Synod of New York, it will be observed, was a union of the New England clergymen and of those who were immediately connected with the college on the Neshaminy or who sympathized with the aims and measures of its founder. During the three

years intervening between the division of the church and the formation of the new Synod of New York, many conferences were held and letters written on the subject of a college. Owing to this schism it was impossible for those now connected with the Synod of New York to take part in founding that "seminary of learning" which, in 1739, the undivided synod had determined to organize. The adoption of the Log College as the college of the synod was not favorably regarded for several reasons. It was too far from New York; it was within the limits of the other synod; its plan was too narrow; and, besides, the elder Tennent died the very year of the organization of the New York synod. The work of the Log College was over. Moreover, large-minded leaders like Dickinson and Burr wanted a college organized on a plan far larger than that of the Neshaminy school. Nor were they at all disposed to wait for synodical action. The character of the clerical promoters of the College of New Jersey, their training and their actual behavior make it not only credible, but in the highest degree probable, that if a college subject to the supervision of a church judicatory was ever before their minds, it was thought of only to be rejected. To quote the words of Dr. Maclean, the historian of the college, they "most probably neither sought nor desired the assistance of the Synod."

Besides this underlying indisposition to invoke ecclesiastical action, there were special reasons at this time for not allowing the subject to be brought before the synod for discussion. There were a few in the Synod of New York who, hoping for a reunion of the divided Church, might propose coöperation with the Synod of Philadelphia in the support of the college which the latter synod was expecting to open at New London, in Pennsylvania. Gilbert Tennent's opposition to any large plan had to be anticipated, for he had always expressed a preference for private and local schools. And Samuel Blair, who was conducting successfully an academy at Fagg's Manor, could scarcely be expected to favor any scheme which would end the work to which he had given his life. Considerations like these determined the clerical promoters to independent but associated action. Three of them, Jonathan Dickinson, Aaron Burr and John Pierson, were graduates of Yale; the fourth, Ebenezer Pemberton, was graduated at Harvard. The men from Yale had seen in their own *alma mater* what independent action could effect; and before the minds of the four ministers and the three laymen who acted with them, arose an ideal very different from that which Tennent had made actual in the Log College. Certainly, with whatever design they began the project, when, after

conference and discussion, they proceeded to final action, they did a far larger thing than to organize either a synodical college or one chiefly for the education of candidates for the ministry. That this function was in their apprehension important and even eminent there can be no doubt. But this was only one of several functions of the college of the higher learning for the middle colonies. The benefits to be conferred by it on society at large, in the rising communities of the colonies, and especially on the other liberal professions were quite as distinctly before the minds of the promoters and first trustees of Princeton College as were its relations to clerical training. This is made clear both by the provisions of the two charters and by the social and political standing of the trustees these charters name.

III. The Founding of the College. The Two Charters.

The two political divisions of New Jersey, the East and the West, were united in 1702. Up to 1738 the governor of New York represented the sovereign in the Province of the Jerseys also. In that year, New Jersey was granted a separate executive and Lewis Morris was appointed governor. He continued in office until his death in 1746. On the death of Governor Morris, John Hamilton, president of the council, became the acting governor by operation of law: and it was from Governor Hamilton, on the twenty-second of October, 1746, that the charter with which the college began its life was granted. The year before, the ministers whose names have been mentioned and their associates, William Smith, William Peartree Smith and Peter Van Brugh Livingston, had been refused a charter by Governor Morris. The reasons for his refusal can be inferred from his views and his previous conduct. Apart from the doubt that he may have felt as to his right to bestow it before receiving permission from the home government, he believed that he would be doing an illegal, or at least an impolitic act, if he granted the rights of a corporation for educational and religious purposes to ministers and laymen not in communion with the Church of England. He had already refused a charter to the First Presbyterian Church of New York for the reason that there was no precedent for conferring that privilege on a company of "dissenters."

But the death of Governor Morris gave to the promoters of the college new hope; and they presented the same petition to Governor Hamilton. He was the son of Andrew Hamilton, who had been governor of East and West Jersey for a period of ten years. The fact that Andrew Hamilton was a native of Scotland led him to look with favor, certainly with less opposi-

tion than that displayed by either Lord Cornbury or Governor Morris,* on the rapid growth of the Presbyterian Church in the colonies. His son John, himself perhaps a native of New Jersey, shared these views and feelings. At all events he granted the petition and signed the charter. This was the first college charter conferred in America by the independent action of a provincial governor. The charter of Harvard was the act of the legislature of Massachusetts; that of Yale the act of the legislature of Connecticut; that of William and Mary was granted immediately by those sovereigns. The precedent made by Governor Hamilton was followed by other governors, and its propriety was never afterwards officially questioned. Indeed, it was never publicly questioned except in a newspaper controversy, in which only private and irresponsible opinions were expressed by writers who did not even sign their names.

The name of John Hamilton, therefore, should be given a conspicuous place in any list of the founders of Princeton University. He granted the first charter; he granted it against the precedent made by the governor whom he succeeded in the executive chair; and he granted it with alacrity, certainly without vexatious delay. What is more remarkable, at a time when Episcopalian governors were ill-disposed to grant to Presbyterians ecclesiastical or educational franchises, he—an Episcopalian—gave this charter to a board of trust composed wholly of members of the Presbyterian Church. Though the son of a governor, and acting as a royal governor, he made no demand that the government be given a substantive part in its administration; and though granting the franchise as governor of a single Province, he gave it to a board of trustees in which four Provinces were represented. For the times in which he lived, his conduct evinces exceptional large-mindedness. It appears to have proceeded from the conviction that a company of reputable gentlemen, of whatever Christian communion, and however widely their homes might be separated, who were willing to give their time, money and labor to the founding and maintenance of a college of liberal learning for men

* Lord Cornbury and Governor Morris, though they were both opposed to non-conformists, were alike in nothing else. The latter on more than one occasion opposed vigorously the former's tyranny. Governor Morris was on the whole an admirable governor, and, as to his opposition to the charter, Dr. Maclean makes the following remark: "In this matter the friends of the Church [of England] were in all probability no more unreasonable than the Dissenters themselves would have been had their respective conditions been reversed. It was reserved for those not connected with established churches to be liberal-minded and regardful of the rights of others" (*History of the College*, Vol. i, p. 43).

of all classes of belief, must be worthy of the confidence and protection of the sovereign political power. It has already been shown that the projectors of the college impressed upon it an unsectarian character by declining to seek the aid or to permit the oversight of the Presbyterian synod; and that nevertheless its control by Presbyterians representing four colonies made it of necessity an intercolonial institution. It is but just to the memory of President Hamilton to add, that legal effect was first given both to this religiously liberal proposal and to this national outlook by the signature of an acting royal governor who was a member of the Church of England.

Unfortunately, the first charter was not recorded; and it is on this account impossible to compare its precise language with that of the second. But the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of August 13, 1747, published an advertisement of the college, which contains the first charter's substance. In this advertisement it is stated that the charter named seven trustees, the four clerical founders, Jonathan Dickinson, Ebenezer Pemberton, John Pierson and Aaron Burr, and the three lay founders, William Smith, Peter Van Brugh Livingstone and William Peartree Smith. To these original trustees was given full power to choose five others, who should exercise equal power and authority with themselves. The five chosen were the Rev. Richard Treat and four clerical representatives of the Log College interest: Samuel Blair, Gilbert Tennent, William Tennent, Jr., and Samuel Finley. The charter constitutes the trustees a body corporate with full power to act as such, and to convey their power to the successors whom they might elect. In the exercise of this power, however, no acts or ordinances for the government of the college could be passed repugnant to the laws of Great Britain, or of the Province of New Jersey; and provision is distinctly made that no person shall be debarred of any of the privileges of the college on account of any speculative principles of religion; but "those of every religious profession have equal privilege and advantage of education in said college." The charter gives to the trustees and their successors the power to give any such degrees as are given in any of the universities or colleges in the realm of Great Britain.*

Whether in their respective preambles there was any difference between the first and second charters, no one knows and it were idle to conjecture. So far as appears, the scope of the institution,

* Reprinted in the *Princeton College Bulletin*, February, 1891. Mr. William Nelson, to whose studies of the early history of the Province of New Jersey both the State and the University are indebted, brought it to the notice of the Faculty; but for him we should not now know the names of all the first trustees.

its educational design, the methods appointed for fulfilling this design, the powers of the governing board, the degrees to be granted, and the entire framework of a college or university, as set forth in the second charter, were set forth in the first, with the same precision, in the same order, and in the same general language. The second charter was sought by the original trustees or suggested by the governor and agreed on by both, in order to increase the number of trustees, to introduce into the board representatives of the provincial government, to give to other religious communions a share in the administration, to secure the favor of civilians in Philadelphia, and to make the lay trustees equal in number those who were clergymen. These statements indicate the only changes that were made. It was proposed to grant to four members of the Council of New Jersey seats in the Board *ex officio*. The proposal was rejected. What would have been the effect of its adoption no one can tell. It might have seriously interfered with the development of the college as an intercolonial or national college and reduced it to the rank of a local or provincial institution. But this is not at all certain; for a similar provision in the charter of Yale, as amended in 1792, did not prevent its growth into a great national university. It is not possible to say in whose minds the changes in the charter severally originated. We only know in a general way of the friendly correspondence and conference between the original trustees and the governor, and of the governor's expressed desire to give to the college a new and better charter.

In changing the constitution of a corporation, either the charter may be amended or a new charter may be granted. Why, in the case of the college, the latter method was adopted is not perfectly clear. It may be that this was regarded as the more convenient method; or that, even if not so convenient, it was thought either safer or more honorable, or both, to hold a charter from a royal governor than to hold one from a president of the council. Possibly, some of the steps taken by the government in issuing the first charter were irregular; or, possibly, some of the steps necessary to be taken were omitted. Three facts are significant. No mention of the charter of 1746, so far as can now be ascertained, was made in the council's journal. In 1755 the first charter was attacked by a writer in the New York *Gazette*, and a reply by a friend of the college was published; but in this reply the first charter, far from being defended, is pronounced "probably invalid," and the tone of the note is one of felicitation that the legality of the college rests securely on the charter of 1748. In the same year the trustees presented an address to the governor who gave the second

charter, and they welcomed him, not only as patron and benefactor, but as founder also.

These facts justify and almost compel the belief that the conviction was general that a cloud rested on the college's title to its franchises which could be best removed by an absolutely new charter. But they do not warrant the statement that the first charter was impotent and void. It was actually operative until the new charter was granted; and, had it not been superseded, it would have continued operative until, challenged in the courts of the Province, a decision had been rendered against it. Many of the official acts of governors and legislatures, if tested in the courts, would be held illegal, and some of them so illegal as to be invalid. But, never being challenged, they have been just as potent as if they had complied with every constitutional demand. The first charter of the college, in its sphere, had certainly all the potency which acts of the kind just described have in their spheres. Moreover, we have not at this late day knowledge enough of the facts of the case to assert with confidence what, if the case had been tried, the decision of the court would have been. And even if it could now be satisfactorily proved that, of the steps necessary to be taken, enough were omitted to make it certain that the first charter would have been adjudged illegal, it never was. On the other hand, it was granted, it was announced, the college was advertised and opened on its basis, and it was called an "infant college," and one to be "adopted," by the very governor who granted the new charter. Let it even be supposed that President Hamilton in granting the first charter was guilty of unlawful usurpation of power. Louis XVIII regarded Napoleon I as a usurper, and Charles II so regarded Oliver Cromwell. But neither the Bourbon nor the Stuart king held that the franchises granted under the government of his predecessor were for that reason null and void. Governor Belcher and his council, for reasons not known to us but satisfactory to themselves, granted a new charter instead of amending the old one; but that is no reason at all for taking a position which would compel the removal of the name of Jonathan Dickinson from the list of the presidents, and the name of John Hamilton from the list of the founders, of the college.*

* It is true, as said above, that a friend of the college expressed, in the *New York Gazette*, the belief that the first charter was "probably invalid." But it can with equal truth be said that a devoted friend of the college expressed the fear that the second charter might be successfully attacked on legal grounds. This was Samuel Davies. So grave was his fear, "that they would find some flaw in the charter and so overset it," that it controlled his conduct when in London (*Maclean's History of the College*, Vol. i, p. 233). Mere pri-

The vacancy in the office of governor was filled by the appointment in 1747 of Jonathan Belcher. Governor Belcher was a native of Massachusetts. His father, a man of large estate, had been a member of the provincial council of that Province. The son was graduated at Harvard in 1699. Upon his graduation he visited Europe as a gentleman of fortune, and spent six years in Great Britain and on the continent. He was received at the court of Hanover, where he made the acquaintance of Sophia, the ancestress of those electors who became kings of England. On his return to Boston he became a merchant. In 1729 he was appointed the agent in England of the colony of Massachusetts, and in 1730 governor of the colony, an office he retained until 1741. During his administration he was actively interested in Harvard College. He took advantage of the opportunities his position gave him to promote what he believed to be its welfare. He was not only an *alumnus*, but as governor of the colony was a member of the board of overseers. His influence seems to have been exerted to compose the difficulties between the two ecclesiastical parties which, at that period, were struggling for the control of the institution. He was a man of intellectual sympathies and religious character, and had been cultivated by travel. Such a man, coming to New Jersey as its chief executive, would be disposed to take a deep interest in the prosperity of the new seminary of learning. He would easily be interested in the project of the seven graduates of New England colleges who were among its sponsors.

Governor Belcher, soon after his arrival in New Jersey, in August, 1747, began to think and write about the college. As early as October of that year, having received from President Dickinson a catalogue of the institution, he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Pemberton, then pastor in New York, expressing the hope that the latter would come to Burlington and "lay something before the Provincial Assembly of New Jersey for the service of our infant college." Especially interesting is the governor's statement: "I say *our* infant college, because I have determined to adopt it for a child, and to do everything in my power to promote and establish so noble an undertaking." Indeed, he wrote no less than three letters about the college on the same day: that to Mr. Pemberton already quoted; one to Jonathan Dickinson, whose death,

vate opinions never determined the validity of a charter. A charter actually operative can be adjuged illegal or invalid only by the court having jurisdiction. The first charter was operative, and the college began its life under its protection. To post-date the beginning of the college two years, for the reason that some private citizens thought or some students still think that the first charter was "probably invalid," would be unwarrantable.

unknown to the governor, had occurred the day before, and one to Mr. William Peartree Smith of New York, in which the phrase "our infant college" is repeated. A week earlier he had written a letter to his friend, Mr. Walley of Boston, in which, speaking of the college, he expressed the opinion that Princeton was the best situation for it, and added: "I believe that the trustees must have a new and better charter which I will give to them." Indeed, until the second charter was granted on September 13, 1748, no one seems to have shown a greater interest in the institution than the governor of the Province. The details of the second charter were the subject of correspondence and of frequent conferences between himself and the original promoters. One important question discussed was the persons to be named as the board of trustees, the board to which the property of the college was to be entrusted and which was to possess plenary power in administration. The interests of religion were cared for by reappointing the clerical trustees under the first charter, except Jonathan Dickinson, who had died, and Samuel Finley, and by adding four others. All of the four were members of the Synod of New York, except David Cowell, pastor of the church at Trenton. When the division of the Church took place, Mr. Cowell took the side of the Synod of Philadelphia, but he was not a violent partisan. Indeed, he was always a warm friend of Samuel Davies, and did much afterwards to induce Davies to accept the presidency of the college. Three "Log College" ministers, Gilbert Tennent, William Tennent, Jr., and Samuel Blair, who were trustees under the first, are named in the second charter. The new clerical trustees were all active pastors.

Governor Belcher desired to associate the institution closely with the state. For eleven years he had been governor of the colonies of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. He was always disposed strongly to assert the right of the state to a large place in all great projects having in view the welfare of the people. It was this habit of asserting his dignity and authority as governor that first led to unfriendly relations between himself and the people of Massachusetts and finally caused his dismissal, as it was the lavish expenditure of his private resources in the support of the dignity of his office during his official life in his native Province that seriously reduced his fortune. His correspondence shows his belief in the high value of the services which as governor he could render to the new college, and it was quite in keeping with his views and previous conduct to propose that not only the governor of the Province, but several of his council should be *ex-officio* members of the corporation. The last clause of this proposal met

with strenuous and successful opposition. Whether the East Jersey and New York trustees under the first charter opposed it, it is not possible positively to say. Whatever they may have thought of the gentlemen who composed the council as at that time constituted, it was probably no part of their original design to give a place to the official element, and they would no doubt have preferred to form no other connection with the state than that which binds every corporation to the government which created it. The strongest opposition to the proposal to give to the state any share in the administration came from the trustees who represented the Log College, and especially from Governor Belcher's intimate friend, Gilbert Tennent, then the pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. Even the innocent provision that constituted the governor of the Province *ex-officio* president of the board of trustees was introduced against the earnest, indeed somewhat indignant, remonstrance of Mr. Tennent. At last a compromise was made. The governor of the Province was made *ex-officio* the president of the board, and four members of the council were named as trustees. But the latter were not named as members of the council. They were appointed as eminent citizens of the Province; and their names appear in the charter not as councillors but as individuals.

It is to the governor's interest in the college that we must attribute the appointment as incorporators of three eminent civilians of Philadelphia. The three laymen in the board under the first charter were residents of New York. These were retained, but Philadelphia was given an equal number. They were the Hon. John Kinsey, formerly attorney-general and at this time chief justice of Pennsylvania; the Hon. Edward Shippen, judge of the Court of Common Pleas; and Mr. Samuel Hazard, an eminent private citizen. "In the preparation of the charter," says Dr. Maclean, "Governor Belcher sought Chief Justice Kinsey's advice, and placed it in his hands for revision before submitting it to the attorney-general of New Jersey for his approval. In making these appointments Governor Belcher sought for the college not only the interest of the city of Philadelphia, but the interest also of its largest religious communion. Both Chief Justice Kinsey and Judge Shippen were members of the Society of Friends."

The charter which names these trustees recites, as the occasion of its grant, a petition presented by sundry of the subjects of the king, expressing their earnest desire that a college may be erected in the Province of New Jersey, for the benefit of the said Province and others, "wherein youth may be instructed in the learned languages and in the liberal arts and sciences," and that these

petitioners have expressed their earnest desire that those of every religious denomination may have free and equal liberty and advantages of education in the said college, any different sentiments in religion notwithstanding. In the name of the king, therefore, it is granted that there be a college erected to be distinguished by the name of the College of New Jersey. The trustees are constituted a body politic, and after the provision is made that the governor and commander-in-chief of the Province of New Jersey, for the time being, shall be trustee, the original corporators are named. The charter was read in council on the 13th of September, having previously been examined by the attorney-general, and issued on the next day, the 14th of September, 1748.

Including the governor, there were twenty-three trustees. Of these twelve were ministers of the Gospel, all of whom were liberally educated. Six of them were graduates of Yale, three were graduates of Harvard, and three received their training under the elder Tennent at the Log College. Of the lay trustees, Jonathan Belcher was graduated at Harvard, and William Smith, William Peartree Smith and Peter Livingstone at Yale. The four members belonging to the Council of the Province of New Jersey were John Reading, James Hude, Andrew Johnston and Thomas Leonard. Andrew Johnston was elected treasurer. Three lay trustees were from New York and three were from Pennsylvania. Two of the trustees belonged to the Society of Friends and one was an Episcopalian. The governor was born of Puritan parents; in his younger manhood he was devout and active as a Puritan; later still he was thoroughly in sympathy with Whitefield and the Tennents, and in the last years of his life he was a member of the Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown. The remaining trustees, whether laymen or ministers, were connected with the Presbyterian Church. The names of two that appear in the first charter do not appear in the second: the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, who had died, and the Rev. Samuel Finley. Why the latter was not reappointed is not known. It is not necessary to suppose that a clergyman, who was afterward elected president of the college, was at this time *persona non grata* to the governor, the council, his former colleagues or the new trustees. It is more than probable that, not being strong, already burdened by the cares of both a parish and an academy in Maryland, and living at a long distance from the college, he felt himself unable to endure the fatigues of travel over poor roads to the necessarily frequent meetings of the board.

Few boards of trust, having in view the purposes for which they were created, have been more wisely organized. In their

several spheres, its members were all men of standing. Many of them had already shown more than ordinary ability, and some of them were eminent. In the persons of the trustees three of the middle colonies, their two chief cities, three religious communions, commerce, the liberal professions, and the royal government of the Province in which the college had its home, were represented, and all who had a share in its administration were united in the earnest purpose to make it worthy of its franchises.

The charter of 1748 is to-day the charter of Princeton University. It has been amended in but a few and these not important particulars. Grateful for his grant of the charter, the trustees in 1755 addressed Governor Belcher as not only the patron and benefactor of the college, but its "founder." As has been shown, he was deeply solicitous for its welfare, and as governor, citizen and Christian, rendered to it great and conspicuous services. But the title "founder" applied to him exclusively is not deserved, and in itself is not happy. It is certainly unmerited, if it is to be interpreted as excluding either his predecessor, John Hamilton, or President Jonathan Dickinson, from sharing equally with him the honor due to those who laid the foundations of the university. After all, to speak of the "founder" of a university is to employ a metaphor. And it is not by a figure taken from among forms which have no life, even though it be a noble and spacious building, that the character and career of a university can be best exhibited. To obtain an adequate symbol we must rise into the realm of life. It is scarcely figurative to say, that a university is not a mechanism, not even an artistic achievement, but an organism. And this is true of Princeton. A living seed, whose high descent we can trace through Yale and Harvard, through the Log College and Edinburgh, through Cambridge, Oxford and Paris, back to Alcuin and the school of Egbert at York, was planted here wisely and with prayer. We shall better state the facts and shall more nearly credit each benefactor with the service he rendered, if we refuse to say: "These men or this man founded it;" and shall say instead: "Men planted it, men watered it, men cherished and nourished it, and men threw about it the safeguards of the common and the statute law. All the while it grew because of the living and energizing idea which informed it. For the same reason it yielded seed after its kind and became a mother of colleges. And year by year its leaves and fruit, as they still are, were for the healing and the vigor of the nation."

PRINCETON. JOHN DEWITT.

Princeton College Administrations in the Eighteenth Century.

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(Reprinted from The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, for July, 1897.)

PRINCETON COLLEGE ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IN the last number of the REVIEW, the story of the Planting of Princeton College was briefly told. We propose in this number to place before our readers the salient features of its first six administrations, the last of which closed shortly before the commencement of the nineteenth century. In the next number we hope to bring the story down to the close of the one hundred and fiftieth year of its life, when the corporate name was changed from "The College of New Jersey" to "Princeton University."

The first charter having been granted, the trustees took measures for the opening of the college. In their announcement, made on the 13th of February, 1747, they promised that it should be open to the public in May. Neither its presiding officer nor the place where instruction would be given was named. But on the 27th of April they were able to say: "The Trustees of the College of New Jersey have appointed the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, President of said college, which will be opened in the fourth week of May next, at Elizabethtown, at which time and place all persons suitably qualified may be admitted to an academic education." * No records remain from which can be ascertained the number of students during this first session. In 1748, however, six students were granted the degree of bachelor. "It is morally certain," says Dr. Maclean, "that some, if not all of them, had been in training under the supervision and instruction of President Dickinson." One was Richard Stockton, afterwards a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Dickinson's work as president was very brief. It began in the fourth week of May, 1747. He died before the first week of the following October had closed. The man to whom, as much as to any single person, the college was indebted for its existence, for the high ideas which informed it, and for the cordial coöperation of the church and state in its establishment, was permitted only to launch it upon its career. We

* "At the time specified the first term of the College of New Jersey was opened at Mr. Dickinson's house, on the south side of the old Rahway road, directly west of Race street." Hatfield's *History of Elizabeth*, p. 350.

Reprinted from the July, 1897, number of The Presbyterian and Reformed Review.

possess no account of the curriculum to which we can appeal in justification of the degree granted to these first graduates. Their title rests solely upon the fact that they had pursued with credit a course which Jonathan Dickinson and Aaron Burr esteemed adequate for the first degree in the liberal arts. President Dickinson was their principal instructor. He had the assistance of the Rev. Caleb Smith, a graduate of Yale, the pastor at Newark Mountains, and later one of the most useful trustees of the college.

Mr. Dickinson died October 7, 1747, and the following notice of his death and burial appeared on the twelfth of the same month. Dr. Hatfield, the historian of Elizabeth, supposes it to have been written by the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, of New York, one of his associate founders: "On Wednesday morning last, about four o'clock, died here, of a pleuritic illness, the eminently learned and pious minister of the Gospel and President of the College of New Jersey, the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Dickinson, in the sixtieth year of his age, who had been pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in this town for nearly forty years, and was the Glory and Joy of it. In him conspicuously appeared those natural and acquired moral and spiritual endowments which constitute a truly excellent and valuable man, a good Scholar, an eminent Divine, and a serious devout Christian. He was greatly adorned with the gifts and graces of the Heavenly Master, in the Light whereof he appeared as a star of superior Brightness and Influence in the Orb of the Church, which has sustained a great and unspeakable Loss in his Death. He was of uncommon and very extensive usefulness. He boldly appeared in the Defense of the great and important Truths of our most holy Religion, and the Gospel Doctrines of the free and sovereign Grace of God. He was a zealous Professor of godly Practice and godly Living, and a bright ornament to his Profession. In Times and cases of Difficulty he was a wise and able Counsellor. By his death our Infant College is deprived of the Benefit and Advantage of his superior accomplishments, which afforded a favorable prospect of its future Flourishing and Prosperity under his Inspection. His remains were decently interred here yesterday, when the Rev. Mr. Pierson, of Woodbridge, preached his funeral sermon; as he lived desired of all, so never any Person in these parts died more lamented. Our Fathers, where are they? and the Prophets, do they live forever?"

Mr. Dickinson was fifty-eight years of age when he was elected president of the college. He was the most eminent minister of the Presbyterian Church. Born in Massachusetts in 1688, and graduated at Yale in 1706, he was not twenty-one when he became the minister of the Church of Elizabethtown. "It was a weighty charge

to be laid on such youthful shoulders. And yet not too weighty as the sequel proved. Quietly and diligently he applied himself to his work, and his profiting presently appeared to all. It was not long before he took rank among the first in his profession." * He united with the Presbytery in 1716, and his church followed their pastor the next year. As a member of the judicatories of the Presbyterian Church, he labored to unite its discordant elements, and was the chief author of the Adopting Act of 1729, the synodical act which made a national church of that communion possible, and which is substantially its doctrinal basis to-day. As a pastor he was not only faithful and efficient in caring for the moral and spiritual life of his people, but helpful every way. He read medicine and practiced it; he was an adviser in legal difficulties, and greatly aided his parishioners in their strife before the courts for their homes when their titles were attacked by the East Jersey proprietors. He published treatises in theology, apologetics and church government. His sermons were regarded by his contemporaries as among the ablest preached in the colonies; and his name was often associated with that of the elder Edwards when the great theologians of the colonies were named. He was deeply interested in religious work, and united with Mr. Pemberton, of New York and Mr. Burr, of Newark, in promoting a mission to the red Indians. Long before 1746, he felt the necessity of a college nearer New Jersey than Harvard or Yale; and he did all in his power to supply the want, by correspondence, by conference, by agitation in the synod, and by opening a classical and theological school in his own house. He was a man of devout religious character, and earnest evangelical spirit. Though without sympathy with many of the measures employed by Whitefield, he was on Whitefield's side, encouraged and defended him, and invited him into his pulpit. He was a man of fine manly presence, and serious but affable in his intercourse. It would be difficult to name another American clergyman of his day more widely and variously active or whose activity was more uniformly wise and beneficent. This was due, as far as it could be due to any single quality, to a largeness of vision which enabled him to see both sides in a controversy and most of the factors in a practical problem. So far as his inner life has been revealed he seems to have been controlled by principle and impelled to action by high purposes. He was a man of calm temperament; and his gifts and attainments were made to yield the very best results to a resolute will. Yale may well be proud of him as an *alumnus*, and Princeton may well cherish the memory of the first as that of one of the greatest of her presidents.

* Hatfield's *Elizabeth*, p. 229.

Immediately upon the death of Dickinson, the care of the college was entrusted to the Rev. Aaron Burr. The students were taken from Elizabethtown to Newark. It was fortunate that Burr was so near at hand. It is probable that the academy in Newark was still open. But whether it was or not, his conduct of that institution made it comparatively easy for him to take charge of the college. Its work went on without interruption; but no student was graduated until the second charter had been granted. To Burr belongs the honor of the organization of the curriculum of the college, its ceremonies and its discipline. How deeply impressed he was by the dignity of a college appears clearly in the account of the first commencement * held on the 9th of November, 1748, and of the inaugural address he then delivered. The state was represented by the governor and commander-in-chief of the Province. The trustees under the new charter subscribed the oaths and declarations which the charter required, and elected Burr as president. This action was followed by the exercises of the commencement. The procession formed at the lodgings of the governor, and moved to the place appointed for the public acts. The charter was read before the audience, who stood to hear it. In the afternoon, the president of the college delivered a Latin oration on the value of liberal learning to the individual, to the church and to the state. He unfolded the benefits conferred by the universities on Great Britain, and congratulated his countrymen that as soon as the English planters of America had formed a civil state they wisely laid religion and learning at the foundation of their commonwealth; and always regarded them as the firmest pillars of the government. He referred with gratitude to the growing reputation of Harvard College in New Cambridge, and Yale College in New Haven, which had sent forth many hundreds of learned men of various stations and characters in life who had proved the honor and ornament of their country. Most of the *literati* present, said Mr. Burr, looked to the one or the other of these colleges as their *alma mater*. The sun of learning had now in its western movement begun to dawn upon the Province of

* The reporter of this commencement was one of the trustees, William Smith, who was a corporator under both charters. He was not only a graduate of Yale College, but his interest in the acts of the new institution, whose first commencement he has narrated, was due to the fact that he held the position of tutor in his *alma mater* for five years. He was one of the most prominent lawyers in the Province of New York, a man of great influence in colonial politics, earnestly desirous of a union among the colonies, and a member of the Congress held at Albany to secure a union between them. Upon his death the New York *Gazette* described him as a gentleman of great erudition, the most eloquent speaker in the Province and a zealous and inflexible friend to the cause of religion and liberty.

New Jersey. They were fortunate in having as their generous patron their most excellent governor, who, from his own acquaintance with academic studies, well knowing the importance of a learned education, and being justly sensible that in nothing he could more subserve to the honor and interest of His Majesty's government and to the real good and happiness of his subjects in New Jersey, than by granting them the best means to render themselves a religious, wise and knowing people, had upon his happy accession to his government, made the erection of a college in this Province for the instruction of youth in the liberal arts and sciences the immediate object of his attention and care. He spoke with gratitude of His Excellency's friendship shown in the ample privileges granted in His Majesty's royal charter of the college; privileges, said Mr. Burr, the most ample possible consistent with the natural and religious rights of mankind. He spoke in a tone, not only of congratulation but of triumph, of the provision of the charter which grants free and equal liberty and advantages of education in the college, any different sentiments in religion notwithstanding, asserting that in this provision they saw the axe laid to the root of that anti-Christian bigotry which had in every age been the parent of persecution and the plague of mankind, and that by the tenor of the charter such bigotry could assume no place in the College of New Jersey. The disputations of the students followed. These were carried on in Latin. Six questions in philosophy and theology were debated. The reporter of the commencement names only one: "*An libertas agendi sẽcundum dictamina conscientiæ, in rebus merè religiosis, ab ulla potestate humana coerceri debeat?*" Upon the conclusion of the disputations, the president presented the candidates to the trustees, asking whether it was their pleasure that they should be admitted to the degree of Bachelor of the Arts; and the degrees were bestowed. The degree of Master, *honoris causa*, was accepted by the governor. An oration of welcome was then pronounced in Latin by Mr. Daniel Thane, one of the new bachelors. Like the discourse of the president, it was a eulogy of the liberal arts, in view of the benefits they yielded to mankind in private and in social life, and was concluded by an expression of the gratitude of the bachelors to His Excellency the governor, the trustees and the president of the college. After the public exercises the trustees met, adopted the college seal, and enacted laws for the regulation of the students. "Thus," concludes the reporter, "the first appearance of a college in New Jersey, having given universal satisfaction, even the unlearned being pleased with the external solemnity and decorum which they saw, it is hoped that this infant

college will meet with due encouragement from all public-spirited generous minds; and that the lovers of mankind will wish it prosperity, and contribute to its support." Princeton University may well congratulate itself on the first public appearance of the college in its annual ceremony, on the stately and decorous observances and the large-mindedness of the president's inaugural discourse.

The college laws passed by the trustees on the same day show the standard of admission to have been for the time a high one. No one could be admitted to the college who was not able to render Virgil and Cicero's orations into English, translate English into true and grammatical Latin, translate the Gospels into Latin or English, and give the grammatical construction of the words. The curriculum of the college was in harmony with its standard of admission. The Latin and Greek languages and mathematics were studied throughout the entire course. Physical science was represented by natural philosophy and astronomy. Logic was studied with text-book, and its practice was secured by discussions. Rhetoric was taught in the same way; and essays and declamations were required. Mental and moral philosophy were prominent studies of the higher classes.

The loss of the minutes of the faculty makes it impossible to present in detail the curriculum and the methods of instruction. But we are fortunate in possessing letters of Joseph Shippen of Philadelphia, the son of Judge Edward Shippen, a trustee of the college, which give us a vivid picture of the life of a student. In 1750 he was a member of the Freshman class. In a letter to his father, written in French, he says: "But I must give you an account of my studies at the present time. At seven in the morning we recite to the president lessons in the works of Xenophon in Greek, and in Watts' Ontology. The rest of the morning, until dinner-time, we study Cicero *De oratore* and the Hebrew grammar, and recite our lessons to Mr. Sherman, the college tutor. The remaining part of the day we spend in the study of Xenophon and ontology, to recite the next morning. And besides these things, we dispute once every week after the syllogistic method; and now and then we learn geography." Two months later he requests his father to send him "Tully's Orations, which," he adds, "I shall have occasion to use immediately." In a letter of May 12, 1750, he says: "I believe I shall not want any more books till I come to Philadelphia, when I can bring them with me; which will be Gordon's Geographical Grammar and (it may be) Watts' Astronomy and a book or two of logic. We have to-day a lesson on the Globes. As I have but little time, but what I must employ in my studies, I can't enlarge, otherwise I

would give you some account of our college, as to the constitution, method, and customs, but must leave that till I see you." On the 1st of June, he writes, "I shall learn Horace in a little while; . . . . but my time is filled up in studying Virgil, Greek Testament, and Rhetoric, so that I have no time hardly to look over any French, or Algebra, or any English book for my improvement. However, I shall accomplish it soon. . . . . The President tells our class that we must go into logic this week, and I shall have occasion for Watts' book of Logic."

The letters of young Shippen show clearly the studies of the Freshman class. Watts' Astronomy is, in all probability, the volume entitled, *The Knowledge of the Heavens and the Earth Made Easy; or, The First Principles of Geography and Astronomy Explained*, an octavo published first in 1726, the sixth edition of which appeared in 1760. Its author was Isaac Watts, whose *Imitations of the Psalms* was already beginning to displace the version of Rouse in the Presbyterian churches. He was the author also of the book of logic which Shippen studied; and of this book Dr. Johnson has said: "It has been received into the universities, and therefore wants no private recommendation. If he owes part of it to Le Clerc, it must be considered that no man, who undertakes merely to methodize or illustrate a system, pretends to be its author." The text-book which in the correspondence is called Watts' Ontology is the same author's *Essay on the Improvement of the Mind; or, Supplement to the Art of Logic.* It had a wide circulation and a long life. It appeared first in 1741 as a single octavo volume, and when Shippen studied it at Princeton, was in its third edition. As early as 1762 it was translated into the French, and published at Lausanne. Dr. Johnson not only acknowledges his own indebtedness to it, but adds, "Whoever has the care of instructing others may be charged with deficiency in his duty if this book is not commended." Isaac Watts was not a university man. The Independents of England, in his day, had to rely for their education on private academies. Few men of his age, however, had their powers so well in hand as he had his, and few men have employed their powers more usefully. His literary product is enormous in its bulk and wide in its range. His sympathy with youth made him an admirable composer of text-books. While England during the eighteenth century produced many writers of far greater attainments and endowments, it is questionable whether it produced any other so immediately and widely useful.

The Sophomore class studied rhetoric, mathematics, natural philosophy and astronomy, and continued their classical reading.

Astronomy was studied with the aid of a text-book and the Orrery constructed by David Rittenhouse. The text-book in Natural Philosophy was a work in two volumes. Its author was Benjamin Martin, a learned optician, who appears to have been as prolific a writer as Isaac Watts, and whose works, in their day, were highly esteemed. No less than thirty-one of his works were published. His Natural Philosophy was entitled, *Philosophia Britannica, a New and Comprehensive System of the Newtonian Philosophy, Astronomy and Geography, with Notes.* He conducted a school, made optical instruments, invented a reflecting microscope, and enjoyed a high reputation as a maker of spectacles. He wrote on natural philosophy, on electricity, on the construction of globes and on the elements of optics.

The study of the classics was continued until graduation. The Seniors had a special course in ethics, using as a text-book Henry Groves' *System of Moral Philosophy*, in two volumes. As early as the administration of President Burr, more time than was customary in colleges was devoted to the study of mathematics and natural science. Optional studies were pursued in these branches. In 1752, Shippen writes as follows: "The president has been instructing two or three of us in the calculation of eclipses." He also speaks of his studying, outside of the necessary exercises of the college, the theory of navigation.

While President Burr was organizing the curriculum, the trustees were conferring and corresponding about the permanent location of the college. Newark was too near to New York city to satisfy the trustees residing in Pennsylvania. It was important, if the college was to retain the support of the communities represented in the Board of Trustees, that a place should be selected which would be reasonably convenient to both Eastern Pennsylvania and New York. Proposals were made to two of the central towns of New Jersey. The trustees were fully aware of the pecuniary and social value of the college to any town in which it should be placed, and they were determined not to plant it among any people who were unwilling to compensate the institution for its presence. In September, 1750, they voted "that a proposal be made to the towns of Brunswick and Princeton to try what sum of money they could raise for the Building of the College by the next meeting, that the trustees may be better able to judge in which of these places to fix the place of the College." In the following May the trustees selected New Brunswick—"provided, the citizens of the place secure to the college a thousand pounds in proclamation money, ten acres for a college campus, and two hundred acres of woodland not farther than three miles from the

town." Meanwhile the citizens of Princeton were active and anxious. They were ready with a proposition as to land for the building, and with promises of a subscription for its erection. The treasurer and another member of the Board were directed to view the land at Princeton, and also that promised by the inhabitants of New Brunswick, and to report to the trustees in the following September. By September the views of the trustees concerning the respective advantages of the two towns had somewhat changed; and from this time until September 1752, when it was voted that the college be fixed at Princeton, the latter place steadily increased in favor.

Princeton was almost on the line between the Eastern and Western divisions of New Jersey. Indeed, it lies between the lines made by the two surveyors, Keith and Lawrence. It is almost midway between New York and Philadelphia, and its one street was a part of the great thoroughfare between them. It stands upon the first high land west and north of the ocean; and this high land, though but a little more than two hundred feet above the level of the sea, is the first of the foothills of the Appalachian mountains. A settlement had been made as early certainly as 1696. Four of the seven families of settlers belonged to the Society of Friends. They came from other parts of New Jersey. The three remaining families came from New England. These families, the Clarks, the Oldens, the Worths, the Horners, the Stocktons, the Fitzrandolphs and the Leonards "constituted the strength and sinew of the community, not only at the beginning, but long afterwards." A few miles east of Princeton stands the village of Kingston. It is thought that Kingston derived its name from the fact that it stood upon the road called the King's Highway between New Brunswick on the Raritan, and Trenton on the Delaware. If not settled before Princeton, it received its name earlier; and its designation suggested the name of the town in which the college was placed. It is not unlikely that it was called after William the Third of England by his title of Prince, and that the name of the college building, Nassau Hall, was suggested to Governor Belcher by the name of the town in which it stood. The conditions insisted on by the trustees were all met by the people of Princeton. Mr. Sergeant, the treasurer, had already viewed the ten acres of cleared land on which the college was to stand, and the two hundred acres of woodland. Final action was taken by the board in September, 1752. The terms of payment of the one thousand pounds proclamation money are set forth in the vote of that date. The trustees demanded that a deed of the land be executed by a certain date, or the privilege of having the college

established at that place would be forfeited. Four and a half acres of ground were deeded to the college by Nathaniel Fitzrandolph, and the date of the execution of this deed may be regarded as the date of the college's location in the town where it now stands.

It was determined to proceed at once with the erection of two buildings, a college hall and a house for the president. It was voted that the college hall be built of brick, if good brick could be made at Princeton. Fortunately, at a subsequent meeting, the vote was rescinded, and stone was selected. The President's house, which was to have been built of wood, was built of brick. The exact site of the college on the land was selected by Samuel Hazard, and the plan in general was indicated by Dr. Shippen. Each of them acted in association with Mr. Robert Smith, the architect of the building. The ground was broken in July, 1754. Soon afterwards the cornerstone was laid at the northwest corner of the cellar. The building was completed in 1757. It was one hundred and seventy feet long and fifty-four feet wide. At the centre it projected toward the front four feet, and toward the rear twelve feet. What is now the cellar was then the basement. It had, as now, three stories, and was surmounted by a cupola. Twice since its erection, in 1802 and 1855, the interior of the building has been destroyed by fire; but the honest workmanship of the first builders has enabled it to survive both desolations. Dr. Finley thus describes it: "It will accommodate about one hundred and forty-seven students, computing three to a chamber. These are twenty feet square, leaving two large closets with a window in each for retirement. It has also an elegant hall of gentle workmanship, being a square of near forty feet, with a neatly finished front gallery. Here is a small, though exceedingly good organ which was obtained by a voluntary subscription, opposite to which and of the same height is erected a stage for the use of the students in their public exhibitions. It is also ornamented on one side with a portrait of his late Majesty at full length, and on the other with a like picture (and above it the family arms neatly carved and gilt) of His Excellency Governor Belcher. The Library, which is on the second floor, is a spacious room; furnished, at present, with twelve hundred volumes, all of which have been gifts of the patrons and friends of the institution both in Europe and America. There is on the lower story a commodious dining-hall, together with a large kitchen, steward's apartments, etc. The whole structure, which is of durable stone, having a neat cupola on its top, makes a handsome appearance and is esteemed to be the most convenient plan for the purposes of a college of any in North America."

Governor Belcher was not content simply to enjoy the position of the college's official patron. He gave to its interests his time. He commended it to his friends, encouraged the trustees in every way, and was one of its largest benefactors. It was appropriate that the trustees should, as they did, propose to name the new building after him. This honor the governor declined, and requested the trustees to call the building Nassau Hall, as "the name which expresses the honor we render in this remote part of the globe to the immortal memory of the glorious king, William the Third, who was a branch of the illustrious House of Nassau." The trustees recorded his letter, and ordered that "the said edifice be in all time to come, called and known by the name of Nassau Hall." The college was removed to Princeton in the autumn of 1756. "In that year," says Mr. Randolph, in his memoranda, "Aaron Burr, president, preached the first sermon and began the first school in Princeton College." The college opened with seventy students.

The erection of this building required a large addition to the funds of the college. The friends of the institution in the colonies, unable to meet the whole expense, sent to the mother country a commission to ask contributions. The governor wrote in behalf of the commission to his British friends. Two clergymen were found who were willing to act as the solicitors. These were the Rev. Samuel Davies, of Virginia, and the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, of Philadelphia. It was necessary to their success that they secure the sanction of the Synod of New York. The commendation of the synod was addressed to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. It stated the importance of the college to the congregations under the care of the synod. It set forth the services which the college had already rendered in supplying educated and accomplished ministers for these churches. It certified that Mr. Tennent and Mr. Davies were appointed by both the trustees and the synod, and recommended them and their mission to the acceptance of the Church of Scotland. Davies and Tennent were well received by the Independent and the Presbyterian ministers of England. The Scottish General Assembly heard their petition favorably and even with enthusiasm, and appointed a committee to draw up an act of recommendation for a collection in the churches. This was the more gratifying because the Synod of Philadelphia or several of its members had endeavored by correspondence to put stumbling blocks in the way of their success, no doubt because of their desire to promote the interests of that synod's college. Tennent visited his native Ireland, and successfully brought the subject to the attention of the Synod of Ulster.

"The mission of these gentlemen," says Dr. Maclean, "was successful beyond all expectation, and they obtained an amount of funds which enabled the trustees to proceed without further delay in the erection of their proposed college hall, and also of a house for the residence of the president and family." * Tennent and Davies received in London about twelve hundred pounds sterling: and from the west of England and from Ireland Tennent obtained five hundred pounds. Davies collected in the provinces about four hundred pounds. In addition to this, about three hundred pounds were contributed for funds for candidates for the ministry, and collections for the college were made in the churches in Scotland and Ireland by order of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and of the Synod of Ulster.

The college had now been in existence for eleven years. It had a permanent home in a favorable location, and was the possessor of the finest college-hall in the country. Effective measures had been taken to heal the schism in the Presbyterian Church. The reunion of the two synods, which brought to the aid of the college and to its patronage a far larger number of friends than up to this time it had possessed, took place in 1758. But before the reunion two of its most important friends passed away. Governor Jonathan Belcher† died on Wednesday, the 31st of August. In less than a month his death was followed by that of President Aaron Burr. Governor Belcher's death was not unexpected. He was almost seventy-six years old, and for several years he had been a paralytic. But President Burr was only forty-one; and it had been hoped that the college, whose curriculum and discipline he had so wisely organized, would have the benefit of his wisdom for many

* *History of the College*, Vol. i, p. 152.

† The administration of Governor Belcher, in New Jersey, was wise and able and of great advantage to the Province, as well as to the college. Samuel Smith, the historian and a contemporary, contrasts his career as governor of Massachusetts with his career as governor of New Jersey. In Massachusetts he "carried a high hand in the administration, disgusted men of influence, and at one time, putting a negative on several counselors, occasioned so many voices to unite in their applications against him that he was removed from his government." When he was appointed governor of New Jersey, "he was advanced in age, yet lively, diligent in his station and circumspect in his conduct, religious, generous and affable. He affected splendor, at least equal to his rank and fortune, but was a man of worth and honor. And though in his last years under great debility of body from a stroke of palsy, he bore up with firmness and resignation and went through the business of the government, in the most difficult part of the late war, with unremitting zeal in the duties of his office." No act of his administration, however, gave him greater satisfaction than his grant of the charter of 1748 to the college. From the day of its grant to his death he was among its most active, influential and generous benefactors.

years to come. Born in 1716, he was graduated at Yale in 1735, and was ordained at Newark in 1738. For nine years he was the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in that place, and conducted also a large Latin school. In 1747, on the death of Dickinson, he took charge of the college, and was reëlected president under the new charter. The Rev. Caleb Smith delivered, by appointment of the trustees, a discourse commemorative of President Burr, in which he is presented as a peace-loving, studious and industrious man, of quick and large intelligence, and showing great wisdom and sagacity in the government and administration of the college; devout and earnest as a Christian; and as a preacher, "he shone," says Mr. Smith, "like a star of the first magnitude." The following extract from the memorial discourse goes far in explaining the wide popularity he enjoyed and his conspicuous success as president: "He was a great friend to liberty, both civil and religious, and generously espoused this noble cause on every suitable occasion. As he abhorred tyranny in the State, so he detested persecution in the Church, and all those anti-Christian methods which have been used by most prevailing parties, somehow or other, to enslave the consciences of their dissenting brethren. He was very far from indulging a party spirit and hated bigotry in all its odious shapes. His arms were open to a good man of any denomination, however he might in principle differ or in practice disagree, as to what he himself, in the lesser matters of religion, judged to be preferable. He was no man for contention, and at a wide remove from a wrangling disputant; these bitter ingredients came not into the composition of his amiable character. His moderation was well known to all men that knew anything of him. A sweetness of temper, obliging courtesy and mildness of behavior, added to an engaging candor of sentiment, spread a glory over his reputation, endeared his person to all his acquaintances, recommended his ministry and whole profession to mankind in general, and greatly contributed to his extensive usefulness."

Four days after the death of Burr the commencement of 1757 took place. It was the first commencement at Princeton. The graduating class numbered twenty-two. Without any delay a successor was chosen. Seventeen out of the twenty trustees present at the meeting voted for the father-in-law of Burr, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, of Stockbridge, Mass. It required no little pressure to induce Mr. Edwards to leave Stockbridge and his work among the Indians. It was the more difficult because his life there gave him the time and the seclusion needed for study and composition. To quote the language of the trustees, "he came only after repeated requests." An ecclesiastical council, in Decem-

ber 1757, released him from his labors at Stockbridge. He reached Princeton and was qualified as president on the 16th of February, 1758. One week later he was inoculated for the smallpox and died on the twenty-second of March. He preached before the college, but did little teaching. We are told that "he did nothing as president, unless it was to give out some questions in Divinity to the Senior Class, to be answered before him; each one having opportunity to study and write what he thought proper upon them. When they came together to answer them, they found so much entertainment and profit by it, especially by the light and instruction Mr. Edwards communicated in what he said upon the questions, when they had delivered what they had to say they spoke of it with the greatest satisfaction and wonder." * We can easily understand how great a blow the death of this great man, almost immediately after his accession to the presidency, must have been to the college. But the fact that he had accepted the presidency position gave celebrity to the college, and, though he was not permitted to labor for it, the college has always derived great advantage from his illustrious name. "Probably no man," says Dr. Maclean, "ever connected with this institution has contributed so much to its reputation both at home and abroad."

Less than a month after the death of President Edwards, the trustees met for the election of his successor. They turned to a graduate of the elder college that had now given them three presidents, and invited the Rev. Mr. James Lockwood, of Weathersfield, Conn., to take the vacant place. Dr. Ashbel Green speaks of him as a man of great worth and high reputation. He declined the election as later he declined the election to the presidency of Yale College, after the resignation of Rector Clapp. Up to this time the prevailing influence had been that of the New England Presbyterians of East Jersey. The first three presidents were graduates of Yale; and when the fourth election was held, another Yale graduate was chosen. The statement of Mr. Davies, however, that himself and another gentleman divided with Mr. Lockwood the votes of the trustees would seem to indicate that what may be called the New England element had to face formidable rivals in the Board. It is not probable that the Board was divided into parties; but it is not difficult to believe that the trustees from East Jersey, who owed so much to the two colleges of New England and who were in sympathy with their methods and aims, held that the college must for some time to come obtain its chief executive officer from among the graduates of Yale and Harvard.

* Edwards' *Works*, Biographical Introduction.

Two or three considerations, however, after Mr. Lockwood's declinature led a large majority of the Board to look elsewhere. The now disbanded Log College, whose friends had united with the College of New Jersey in the support of the latter institution, had as yet been given no representative in the executive office; the patronage of the college was more and more found in the Middle and Southern colonies; and the Presbyterian Church was developing rapidly a distinctive and influential ecclesiastical life. Meanwhile, two Presbyterian ministers, one of whom was graduated at the school of a son of the Log College, and the other probably a graduate of the Log College itself, had discovered gifts which seemed to their friends to fit them for the presidential office. Both were prominent ministers of the Church. One was eminent as a sacred orator, the other as a classical scholar and teacher. One of them lived in Virginia and the other in Maryland, two colonies to which the college was looking for students. When Mr. Lockwood declined, the Board's attention was fixed exclusively upon these two men, the Rev. Samuel Davies and the Rev. Samuel Finley. The choice fell upon Mr. Davies. He was chosen at a meeting held the 16th of August, 1758. At first, he declined absolutely, partly because of the unwillingness of the Virginia Presbyterians to give him up to the college, and partly because he believed that Mr. Finley would make the better president. But opposition to Finley developed in the board, and a way was found for the release of Davies from his Virginia parish. A meeting of the trustees was held in May, 1759, when he was again elected. He began his administration on the twenty-sixth of the following July.

The new president was the most eloquent preacher in his communion. One of the historians of the Presbyterian Church,* does not hesitate to call him "next to Whitefield, the most eloquent preacher of his age." His Celtic blood endowed him with the gifts of vivid emotion and fervid speech. He had passed through a religious experience as violent in its phases as that of Bunyan or Whitefield. The classical and theological education he had received at the school of Samuel Blair had disciplined his powers without diminishing his enthusiasm. He was in full sympathy with the theology of the evangelical revival, and ardently adopted the measures by which the revival was promoted. In Virginia, where the Church of England was established, and where it was necessary for ministers not connected with the establishment to procure from the General Court licenses to hold religious services, Davies was fortunate enough to obtain one. He was settled

* Dr. Gillett.

at Hanover as the pastor of the church, but his eloquence was heard in the neighboring counties by delighted congregations. "The different congregations or assemblies to which he ministered were scattered over a large district of country, not less than sixty miles in length, and the licensed places for preaching, of which there were seven, were, the nearest, twelve or fifteen miles apart."* In addition to his work as pastor and preacher, he was the most prominent citizen of his colony in maintaining and defending the rights secured to the Nonconformists by the Act of Toleration. His addresses and correspondence show that the cause of religious liberty in Virginia could not have had a wiser, abler or more faithful advocate. What large-mindedness, catholicity of spirit and diplomatic courtesy could effect was secured by his activity to the dissenting Presbyterian colonists and to their clergy. The contest for toleration was long and doubtful. Indeed, toleration was not finally secured until religious liberty was won by the separation of Virginia from the mother country. But to Davies, as much as to any one man, the Presbyterians of Virginia owed the confirmation of their right as British subjects to worship God after the customs of their fathers. Amid all this work he found time to take a large and active part in the general work of the growing church to which his congregation belonged. He led the Presbytery of which he was a member in its organization of missionary labors, and no counsel was more highly valued in the synod than his.

His eloquence and ability and his popularity in Virginia and throughout the church by themselves might well have led the trustees to invite him to the presidency of the college. But though never a trustee himself, until as president he became a member of the corporation, he was early associated with it. At the commencement of 1753, as a candidate for Master, he defended the thesis, *Personales distinctiones in Trinitate sunt æternæ*, and was granted the degree. It was as a *laureatus* of the college, therefore, as well as one of a commission of the synod, that in November of the same year he sailed for Great Britain with Gilbert Tennent to ask contributions for the institution. The success of the commission was largely due to the profound impression made by the preaching and the charming personality of Davies. Everywhere he went he justified the reputation for eloquence which preceded him. He was heard seventy times in Great Britain, and, it is said, never failed to produce a profound spiritual impression. Nor did his sermons, like those of Whitefield, lose their power to interest when reproduced in type. Undoubtedly, the criticism that

* Maclean's *Hist.*, Vol. i, p. 223.

their language is often loose and their rhetoric often turgid, is just. But they are great discourses; organized by one who knew the power of eloquence and could wield it, suffused with feeling, made substantial by weighty truths and vitalized by the spirit of the Great Awakening. The popularity of Davies as a preacher survived for many years the man himself. Between his death in 1761 and the close of the century, no less than nine editions of his sermons were published in England. These were widely circulated in that country and in America. It is a remarkable tribute to a literary product, the whole of which was thrown off rapidly and the most of which was published posthumously, that was paid by his successor in the presidency, Ashbel Green, more than sixty years after Davies' death: "Probably there are no sermons in the English language which have been more read or for which there has been so steady and unceasing a demand for more than half a century." Twenty years after this tribute was paid to them, a new edition was published in America and introduced to a new generation of readers by the Rev. Albert Barnes.

Davies began his administration of the college at the commencement of 1759. His popularity in the colonies increased the number of the students in attendance to nearly, if not quite, one hundred. The curriculum, so admirably organized during the presidency of Aaron Burr, as far as appears, was not altered or extended. Admission to the Freshman class was granted on the same terms, except that the candidate was required to demonstrate his acquaintance with "vulgar arithmetic." The annual examinations of the classes were open to the public and any "gentleman of education" present might question the students. The custom of punishment by fines, which prevailed, was so far changed that the tutors were permitted to substitute other modes of correction less than suspension. The services of morning and evening prayers were varied; a chapter of Holy Scripture was to be read in the morning, a psalm or hymn to be sung in the evening; customs which were observed until evening prayers were abolished during the administration of Dr. McCosh. One change in morning prayer made at this time had a much shorter life. It was resolved by the trustees that the president and tutors might appoint a student to read a passage of Scripture "out of the original language." The catalogue of the college library was published with a preface written by the president, in which he urged its increase "as the most ornamental and useful furniture of a college, and the most proper and valuable fund with which it can be endowed." The whole number of volumes in the library was less than twelve hundred. "Few modern authors," writes President Davies,

"adorn the shelves. This defect is most sensibly felt in the study of mathematics and the Newtonian philosophy in which the students have but very imperfect helps either from books or from instruments." The question of the length of residence necessary to secure the first degree in the arts was discussed by the trustees, and it was determined that "every student shall be obliged to reside in college at least two years before his graduation."

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* contains an account of the commencement of 1760. The odes on Science and Peace, written by the president and sung by the students, and the description of the orations of the graduating class confirm the remark of Ashbel Green that President Davies "turned the attention of his pupils to the cultivation of English composition and eloquence." His effective oratory, we can easily understand, deeply impressed the students; and the duty of preparing and delivering an oration each month, which he put upon each of the members of the Senior class, was no doubt one of the causes of the establishment a few years later of the Well-Meaning and Plain-Dealing Clubs, which as the Cliosophic and American Whig Societies are in existence to-day.

The brief administration of Davies abundantly justified his election to the presidency. Jeremiah Halsey, then tutor, writing soon after Davies' arrival in Princeton to begin his work, says of him: "He has a prodigious stock of popularity. I think in this respect equal if not superior to the late President Burr. He has something very winning and amiable in his deportment, and at the same time commanding reverence and respect, so that he appears as likely to shine in this character as any one that could be thought of on this continent." He was indefatigable in labor, and he worked with an enthusiasm which rapidly broke down a constitution not strong at its best. In January, 1761, "he was seized with a bad cold," which refused to yield to remedies; an inflammatory fever followed. He died on the 4th of February, 1761, when only thirty-seven years of age. He was president for only a year and a half. *Heu quam exiguum vitæ curriculum!**

Upon the death of Mr. Davies, the Board of Trustees had no difficulty in choosing a successor. A number of them at Davies' first election had cast their votes for Samuel Finley. Davies himself thought Finley better fitted than himself to perform the duties and bear the burdens of the office. A meeting of the trustees was called, to be held the 28th of May, 1761, but a quorum not being in attendance a second meeting was held three days later. At this meeting Mr. Finley was unanimously chosen. For

* From the inscription on his monument in the cemetery.

ten years he had been an active member of the board, and was perfectly conversant with the state of the college. He had acted as president *pro tempore*. Mr. Finley was not a man to postpone an answer to an election for the sake of appearances. He was exceptionally frank and direct in speech and action. We need not be surprised, therefore, that the minute which records his election contains the statement that "the said Mr. Finley being informed of the above election was pleased modestly to accept the same." How highly he was regarded by the friends of the college is evident from a letter written by the Rev. David Bostwick, who soon after became a trustee of the college, to the Rev. Mr. Bellamy, in March, 1761. Referring to the death of Davies and the need of a successor, he says: "Our eyes are on Mr. Finley, a very accurate scholar, and a very great and good man. Blessed be the Lord that such an one is to be found."

Samuel Finley was born in Ireland, in the county of Armagh, of a Scottish family, and was one of seven sons. Early in life he discovered both a taste for learning and fine powers of acquisition. The religious education which he obtained in the family determined his studies in the direction of theology, and he looked forward to the life of a minister even before his family migrated to America, when he was in his nineteenth year. He reached Philadelphia in September, 1734, and, as soon as possible, he continued his preparation for the ministry. The six years which intervened between his arrival in 1734 and his license to preach on the 5th of August, 1740, appear to have been passed in earnest study of the classics and of divinity. At all events, the attainments for which he was distinguished, which gave to the academy instituted by him its high and wide reputation, and which led to his invitation finally to become president of Nassau Hall, make it highly probable that this period of his life was passed in earnest and continuous study, under the direction of one no less competent than William Tennent, and full of Tennent's evangelical spirit. He was licensed when the evangelical revival was exerting its widest influence. He threw himself into the movement with great enthusiasm, preaching with earnestness. For six months he supplied the pulpit of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, and was ordained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick in October, 1742. Of the several calls received by him he was disposed to accept one from Milford, Conn. His Presbytery of New Brunswick sent him there, permitting him to preach at other points, if the way should be open. A second religious society had been established at New Haven, but was not yet recognized by either the civil or the religious authorities. Mr. James Pierpont, a son

of the Rev. James Pierpont, was interested in the new church and invited Finley to preach before it. This was illegal; and on the 5th of September, as he was about to occupy the pulpit, he was arrested and imprisoned. He was indicted by the Grand Jury, and convicted of vagrancy and sentenced to be exiled from the colony. The sentence was executed; and he was unable to induce the authorities to permit his return. In June, of the next year, he accepted an invitation to become the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Nottingham, Md., where he remained for seventeen years. Mr. Ebenezer Hazard, some time Postmaster-General of the United States, says of Dr. Finley: "He was remarkable for sweetness of temper and politeness of behavior. He was given to hospitality; charitable without ostentation; exemplary in discharge of his relative duties; and in all things showing himself a pattern of good works. He was a Calvinist in sentiment. His sermons were not hasty productions, but filled with good sense and well-digested sentiment, expressed in language pleasing to men of science, yet perfectly intelligible by the illiterate. They were calculated to inform the ignorant, to alarm the careless and secure, and to edify and comfort the faithful." Such a man's pastorate would be likely to bear fruit in the quiet and continuous development of a high sentiment in the community. Before his pastorate he engaged in some religious disputes, and these are embodied in two sermons. Other discussions were carried on by him after his settlement; but his only publications are seven discourses, the last being a sermon on the life and character of his predecessor, Mr. Davies. He was most successful as a teacher and as the administrator of the two educational institutions with which he was officially connected. Not long after his settlement at Nottingham he began to gather about him pupils, following the example of William Tennent on the Neshaminy. No doubt he was led into this work by his sense of the need of ministers in the Presbyterian Church; but his pupils were not all of them candidates for the sacred ministry. The names of some of the more distinguished of these pupils have already been mentioned in another connection. The success of Mr. Finley in the Nottingham Academy and the impression made by his personality and his learning on his brethren of the ministry led many of them early to think of him as a suitable candidate for the presidency of Nassau Hall. He was president for five years. It was a period of quiet but rapid and healthful development. The number of students was increased. The curriculum was enriched. The success of the college is indicated by the fact that during his administration the salaries of the president and the faculty were enlarged, and two

tutors were added to the teaching force. To the grammar school, founded by Burr and taken under the government of the college during Burr's presidency, was added an English school, which the trustees ordered "to be under the inspection and government of the president of the college for the time being." So large had the college become that in 1765, at the last commencement held by Dr. Finley, thirty-one students were admitted to the first degree in the arts and eleven others were made Masters. The president was the most important and laborious of the teachers. Indeed, we are told that it was his unremitting application to the duties of his office that impaired his health and brought about his death when only fifty-one years of age. The impression made by him on his students is indicated in the words of one of them, the Rev. Dr. John Woodhull, of Monmouth. "His learning," says Dr. Woodhull, "was very extensive. Every branch of study taught in the college appeared to be familiar to him. Among other things, he taught Latin, Greek and Hebrew in the Senior year. He was highly respected and greatly beloved by the students, and had very little difficulty in governing the college." Dr. Finley's was the last administration during which the instruction of the college was given by the president aided only by tutors. As yet there were no professorships. The earliest professor named in the general catalogue is John Blair, who was elected the year succeeding Finley's death. During Dr. Finley's administration, however, the number of tutors was increased by two. Among these were Samuel Blair, who, at the age of twenty-six, was called to the presidency of the college, and the second Jonathan Edwards, only less distinguished than his father as a theologian, and for two years the president of Union College.

During the administration of Dr. Finley the Freshman year was spent in the study of Latin and Greek, particularly in reading Horace, Cicero's *Orations*, the Greek Testament, Lucian's *Dialogues* and Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. In the Sophomore year, the students read Homer, Longinus, etc., and studied geography, rhetoric, logic and mathematics. The public exercises in oratory and disputation, in which Davies was so deeply interested, were increased in number and more highly organized by Finley. Both forensic and syllogistic disputations were held, the former in English, the latter in Latin. Even Sundays gave the students no rest from intellectual activity, for disputations on a series of questions prepared on the principal subjects of natural and revealed religion were held before a promiscuous congregation. Once a month orations of the students' own composition were pronounced before a public audience, and the students were continually exercised

in English composition. The institution was, during this administration, distinctively a college, not a university. The contact between the teacher and the student was frequent and intimate; the latter was subjected to inspection and to discipline; his hours were carefully regulated. The relation between tutor and pupil was not unlike that in the colleges of the English universities. The students were distributed into the four classes which still exist, and the social distinctions between them, which in later years have been determined by the students themselves, were determined by the faculty. "In each of these classes," says the authorized account of the college, "the students continue one year, giving and receiving in their turns those tokens of respect and subjection which belong to their standings in order to preserve a due subordination." The commencement exercises of the college were all announced, and many were conducted in Latin. They were elaborate and stately. The academic proprieties were carefully observed, and the "mixed auditory" must have been impressed if not edified by the large use made of a language of which the most of them knew nothing.

The period during which Dr. Finley was president was one of great political excitement in which the institution shared. In 1766 a committee of the trustees was appointed to prepare an address to His Majesty for his gracious condescension to these colonies in the repeal of the Stamp Act. This address must not be taken to indicate a deep-seated loyalty on the part of the trustees and the other members of the college. On the contrary, there are evidences in the official action of the institution that its loyalty to the mother country had been seriously weakened. In the address presented by the trustees to the governor of the Province in 1763, no mention is made of the Government of Great Britain, and there are no protestations of loyalty to the king. There was a spirit within the institution preparing it for the administration of "the high son of liberty" who was to be Finley's successor. Meanwhile, it was fortunate to have enjoyed for five years the direction of the clear and largely informed intelligence of Samuel Finley, and to have had infused into its life his own enthusiasm in behalf of religion and the higher learning. Simple in character, calm in temperament, devoted to books and quiet in manner, one might well have predicted that his life would continue to the period of old age. But his too-abundant labors broke down a constitution never very vigorous. He was attacked by an acute disease, and died in Philadelphia, after expressing his perfect resignation to the divine will, on the 17th of July, 1766, in the fifty-first year of his age.

The death of President Finley was felt by its friends to be a serious blow to the college. It was more keenly felt because the college had suffered so many times the loss of its president. In the one hundred and fifty years of its life, it has had only twelve presidents, but five of these were in their graves when the institution was twenty years old. Soon after Dr. Finley's death the board unanimously elected the Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, of Paisley, Scotland. Mr. Richard Stockton, a member of the Board, was in England at the time, and the trustees requested him to visit Dr. Witherspoon and urge his acceptance. While awaiting his reply, negotiations were carried on for the admission, into the board, of representatives of that portion of the now reunited Presbyterian Church which had taken no part in the establishment of the college, and which, up to this time, had shown little interest in its maintenance. As part of these negotiations, it was voted to increase the faculty by the election of several professors. One of the new professors, the Rev. John Blair,* Professor of Divinity and Morality, was chosen vice-president until the next commencement. Dr. Hugh Williamson, of Philadelphia, was elected Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and Jonathan Edwards, then a tutor in the college, and the son of the president, Professor of Languages and Logic. News having reached the trustees that Witherspoon had declined, the board elected the Rev. Samuel Blair, pastor of the old South Church in Boston, to the presidency, and appointed him also Professor of Rhetoric and Metaphysics. Blair's election was unanimous. He was the first graduate of the college elected to the office. He was only twenty-six years of age. He was the son of the Rev. Samuel Blair, of whom mention has already been made as the founder and principal of the classical school at Fagg's Manor, in Chester county, Pa. He was graduated in 1760, and was tutor in the college from 1761 to 1764. No man in the Church at that time gave greater promise. He was successful as a student, as a teacher and as a preacher; but, more than all, he impressed men by the beauty and strength of his character. His magnanimity was given a signal opportunity. He

*John Blair was a native of Ireland and was born in the year 1720. He was a younger brother of Samuel Blair, one of the first trustees of the college. He was educated at the Log College. He was ordained in 1742 and became pastor of the Middle Spring Church, in Cumberland county, Pa. In 1757 he went to Fagg's Manor, became pastor, succeeding his brother in the pulpit and also as the principal of the classical school. He prepared many students for the ministry. After his resignation as Professor of Divinity in Princeton College he was settled as pastor at Walkell, Orange county, New York, where he died December 8, 1771. Dr. Archibald Alexander says of him that "as a theologian he was not inferior to any man in the Presbyterian Church in his day."

was anxious to accept the position to which he had been chosen with cordiality, and he had every reason to trust himself in the office. But, like the trustees, he was convinced that no one else could so well occupy the position as Witherspoon, if only he could be induced to accept it. He placed his declinature in the hands of a member of the board, to be presented if it seemed possible to secure Witherspoon, and urged on the trustees the policy of endeavoring to induce Witherspoon to reopen the question of removing to America. This policy was successful. Witherspoon expressed his willingness to come if he should be reëlected. Blair's declinature was accepted, and Witherspoon became the sixth president of the college.

John Witherspoon was at this time forty-five years of age. He had already had an influential career in the Church of Scotland. He was the son of a minister and came from a ministerial ancestry. His father was an able and faithful pastor, and through his mother he was descended from John Knox. When fourteen years of age he entered the University of Edinburgh, and after a course of seven years became a licentiate. Both his collegiate and theological courses gave promise of distinction. At the Divinity Hall, it is said, "he stood unrivaled for perspicuity of style, logical accuracy of thought and taste in sacred criticism." In 1744 he was presented by the Earl of Eglinton with the living of Beith in West Scotland. There he remained for between twelve and thirteen years. He not only was successful as a parish minister, but he appeared before the public as an author. His first volume gave him national fame. It was entitled *Ecclesiastical Characteristics; or, The Arcana of Church Policy.* It was written at the time when the moderate party was dominant in the church, and it satirized sharply but without ill nature the principles and the conduct of the moderates. The wide difference between the platform of the party and the symbolical platform of the church offered the satirist a fine opportunity. Witherspoon admirably improved it. His work was widely read, exerted a good deal of influence and increased his popularity. In ten years, five editions were published. Soon after the publication of the first edition, which did not bear the name of the writer, he printed a *Serious Apology* for the satire, and confessed himself its author. Not long afterwards he published two essays in theology —on Justification and Regeneration—which made him known as a theologian of ability. The essays embodied and defended evangelical and Calvinistic views. His ministry at Paisley was quite as successful as that at Beith. Several of his discourses were published, and the University of Aberdeen, in 1764, gave him the

degree of Doctor of Divinity. At the time of his call to the presidency of the college, he was, in reputation, behind no man in the Evangelical party of the Church of Scotland, and was perhaps better able than any other to debate in the Assembly with the leaders of the Moderate party like Blair, Campbell and Robertson.

When Witherspoon came to America, the colonies and the British government were quarreling. In 1764 the Stamp Act was passed. The colonists arose in alarm and anger and protested against it. Two years later the act was repealed. But the fact that it had been passed and the declaration accompanying the repeal, namely, that Parliament possessed the right to tax the colonies in all cases whatsoever, left in the minds of the colonists a feeling which Lord Shelburne afterwards described "as an unfortunate jealousy and distrust of the English government." Already this feeling had shown itself in the public exercises of Princeton College. More than once, the college orators had been enthusiastically applauded when lauding the blessings of political liberty: and, after the passage of the Stamp Act, except in the vote of the trustees expressing their gratitude to the king for its repeal, there is no evidence that in any academic function the union between the colonies and the mother country was mentioned with gratitude or pride. This silence was in marked contrast with the custom of the college in earlier days, when the greatness of the British empire was a favorite theme for college oratory. A few years earlier than the date of Witherspoon's arrival, there had been formed in the college two literary societies, called the Well-Meaning and Plain-Dealing Clubs, out of which afterwards grew the Cliosophic and American Whig Societies. In these clubs the enmity to the home government found frequent and at times violent expression. The college, the province in which it had its home, and the provinces on each side of it, while not so active as Massachusetts or Virginia, were in full sympathy with the populations of those energetic and forward colonies. They rejoiced in the meeting of the first Continental Congress in New York in October, 1765, and in the declaration of that Congress: "That the only representatives of the people of these colonies are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been or can be constitutionally imposed on them but by their respective legislatures."

Witherspoon, with his family, sailed from London in May, 1768, and landed at Philadelphia on the 6th of the following August. He was inaugurated on the 17th of the same month, and delivered a Latin inaugural address on the Union of Piety and Science. He soon showed himself an American in feeling, and soon found in

the American cause ample opportunity for the exercise of his best gifts. It is not only true, that "from the beginning of the controversies which led to the War of Independence and to the severance of the thirteen united colonies from their allegiance to the British crown, Dr. Witherspoon openly and boldly took the part of his adopted country;" it is also true that he brought to this work political talents of the very highest order, and personal traits which made his migration to the country an inestimable blessing to the struggling colonists. He was bold and influential as an agitator; active with his pen and his voice; one of the foremost of the party of action; not only ready for a declaration of independence, but earnest in his advocacy of it. He never lost hope or courage in the darkest days of the war, and he was wise and active in both state and church in the constructive period which followed the final victory. Called as a minister to the presidency of a Christian college, he is best known as a great patriot and statesman; and he must always occupy in history a high place among those few notable characters like Ambrose of Milan and his own ancestor, John Knox, who have been great in both church and state.

The high reputation of Witherspoon at once lifted the college into a position of prominence which it had never before occupied. He began his work as president with work for the endowment of the college. The pecuniary embarrassment of the institution was so great that the Professor of Divinity, the Rev. John Blair, offered his resignation, and it was accepted. Dr. Witherspoon was compelled to go upon a begging expedition into New England, from which he returned with subscriptions for a thousand pounds in proclamation money; and this was only the first of several journeys on the same errand. He was an earnest and laborious teacher. He took the place of Mr. Blair as Professor of Divinity. He was most popular and influential, as a teacher, when instructing his pupils in mental and moral philosophy. In addition to his lectures in divinity, psychology and ethics, "he delivered lectures to the Juniors and Seniors on chronology and history, and on composition and criticism; and he taught Hebrew and French to those who wished it." Mr. Rives, the biographer of Madison, Witherspoon's most eminent pupil, and Ashbel Green, another of his students, both call attention to the emphasis placed by Witherspoon on studies on the constitution of the human mind and fundamental truth. Dr. McCosh says that Witherspoon was a man of action rather than reflection; and his judgment is correct. Nevertheless, it is probable that no contemporary teacher in America was more successful in pressing upon the minds of his students the great features of

the system of philosophy he expounded and defended. When one reflects on the deep impression made by him upon the intellectual life of those who sat in his lecture-room, and who afterward became eminent, it may safely be said that no professor in an American college has won greater triumphs as teacher. Witherspoon's strong personality made him an uncompromising college ruler. He followed the advice which he gave to the tutors, namely, "Maintain the authority of the laws in their full extent and fear no consequences." But so inspiriting and stimulating were the man and his lectures that the rigor of his rule is not often mentioned by his pupils. Ashbel Green and Stanhope Smith and James Madison were won by him; their energies were called out, and their powers genially disciplined.

The plans which Witherspoon and the trustees had formed for the enlargement of the institution were largely defeated by the political events then occurring in the country. But the college curriculum was extended; the teaching force was increased;*

*One of the professors during his administration was William Churchill Houston, who was born in North Carolina in 1740. He came to Princeton and taught in the grammar school, afterwards entered the college and was graduated in 1768. He was at once appointed a tutor. In 1771 he was elected Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. When the War of the Revolution began he entered the army and was for some months a captain. He resigned and resumed his work as professor. But, like Dr. Witherspoon, he was elected to office, first as a member of the General Assembly of New Jersey, then as a member of the Council of Safety, and in 1779 as a member of Congress. He resigned his professorship in 1783 and was admitted to the bar. In 1784 he was again elected to Congress and was a delegate to the Convention at Annapolis in 1786. He died in 1788.

Another of the professors elected during Witherspoon's administration was Walter Minto, who was born in Cowdenham, Scotland, December 5, 1753. At fifteen years of age he entered the University of Edinburgh. "After completing his preparatory studies he turned his attention to theology, rather, it would appear from subsequent events, to meet the expectations of friends than from his own unbiased choice." During this period he devoted quite as much time to literature as to divinity and became a frequent contributor to a periodical called *The Gentleman and Lady's Magazine* and published in Edinburgh. He visited Italy, having in charge as tutor two sons of the Hon. George Johnstone, formerly governor of West Florida and member of the British Parliament. On his return he resided in Edinburgh as a teacher of mathematics. "His reputation as a man of science appears to have been considerable, arising probably from his correspondence with the philosophers of Great Britain and several minor publications on the subject of astronomy." In connection with the Earl of Buchan he wrote the life of Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms, the Earl writing the biographical portion and Minto the scientific portion, including a vindication of Napier's claims to the original invention. He sailed for America in 1786 and became principal of Erasmus Hall, a school at Flatbush, Long Island. In 1787 he was called to the Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Princeton College, as the successor of Ashbel Green. "Of his colleagues and pupils, Dr.

endowments were secured; a larger body of students than ever before were under the instruction of the faculty, and they were drawn from a wider area. During his administration the largest class which was graduated in the eighteenth century received their degrees. It must be added, that during his administration the smallest class was graduated. This was not the fault of the president. The position of Princeton on the highway between New York and Philadelphia made it a perilous place during the earlier years of the war of independence. A critical battle was fought within the limits of the village. The college campus was the scene of active hostilities. Nassau Hall was employed as barracks, and cannon balls mutilated its walls. There are few memorials in Princeton more highly valued than the two cannons now standing in the campus, both of which were used in the war and were left after the battle of Princeton near the college.

Mention has already been made of the Cliosophic and American Whig Societies, the two literary societies of the college, which have been in existence from the date of their foundation to the present time. They had their origin in two debating clubs. The earlier name of the American Whig Society was the Plain-Dealing Club; that of the Cliosophic Society the Well-Meaning Club. These clubs appear to have been organized during the excitement caused by the passage of the Stamp Act. In both of them the patriotism of the college found expression. But out of their rivalry there grew serious disturbances. These led the faculty, in 1768, to forbid their meetings. They were soon revived under different names; the Plain-Dealing adopting a name indicating the political views of its members, the Well-Meaning Society one expressive of its literary aims. But politics was not the exclusive interest in the one; nor was literature in the other. One word in the motto of the Whig Society is *litteræ;* and the founders of Clio Hall were quite as much in sympathy as those of the Whig with the aims and struggles of the colonists. The college itself does not possess a more distinguished list of founders than does each of these societies. William Paterson, Luther Martin, Oliver Ellsworth and Tapping Reeve laid the foundations of Clio Hall; and James Madison, John Henry and Samuel Stanhope Smith revived the Plain-Dealing Club under the name of the American

Minto enjoyed the confidence in an unusual degree. He was the treasurer of the corporation. He received continual applications from parents to receive their sons beneath his roof on account of the advantages which they supposed would be enjoyed within the limits of his domestic circle. The text-books in mathematics which his pupils used were prepared by himself. He died in Princeton, October 21, 1796." — Abridged from the *Princeton Magazine*, Vol. i, No. i.

Whig Society. The interior life of these institutions is not open to the view of the public. Their members have pursued the aims of the society in essay and oration and debate with the freedom which belongs to sessions held in camera. Their judges have been their peers. The faculty of the college during all their life have accorded to them great freedom, and have interposed only when the violence of youthful feelings seemed likely to injure, if not to destroy, the societies themselves. Fortunately, crises of this kind have been very few. The sense of independence and responsibility has given to the societies dignity; and they have earned the tribute, paid in later years by President McCosh, that "no department of the college has conferred greater benefit upon the students than have Whig and Clio Halls." Perhaps, at no later period in their history have they been more useful than they were during the administration of John Witherspoon. Life during the periods immediately preceding the Revolutionary War, and immediately succeeding it while the Constitution was being formed and adopted, was intense. During the first period, the question of the maintenance of independence was agitating every man; and during the second, the problem of the new government which was to unite the victorious colonies, offered itself for solution to every thoughtful mind. It is an interesting fact that the two plans of constitutional government for the United States, which were debated at length in the Convention which formed the Constitution, were presented to that body by two of the founders of these literary societies. The one, which laid the greater stress on the rights of the individual States, was presented by William Paterson of New Jersey, the other, which contemplated a stronger federal government, was proposed by James Madison, of Virginia. During the war, the societies, of course, suffered with the college; but when the war had ended they were revived. Originally, each society had a patronage dependent upon the sections from which its members came. Ashbel Green, who was active in reviving the American Whig Society after the war, says, that at the time of this revival "the sectional patronage was entirely done away." Princeton's interest and Witherspoon's labor in the cause of the colonies against the mother country received, at the close of the war, what the sons of Princeton have always interpreted as an honorable recognition. When the soldiers of the army mutinied and surrounded the State House in Philadelphia where the Continental Congress was sitting, Princeton was selected as the temporary capital of the United States. For several months the Congress held its sittings in the library room of Nassau Hall, and the rooms of the students were used by the committees. At the commencement of 1783, "we had," says

Ashbel Green, "on the stage with the trustees and graduating class, the whole of the Congress, the ministers of France and Holland, and George Washington, the commander-in-chief of the American army." Washington contributed for the uses of the college fifty guineas, which the trustees employed to procure the portrait of him, painted by the elder Peale, which now hangs in the portion of Nassau Hall in which the Congress sat. Writing in 1842, Dr. Green says, "The picture now occupies the place, and it is affirmed the very frame, that contained the picture of George the Second, which was decapitated by Washington's artillery."

At the close of Dr. Witherspoon's administration in 1794, the college had been in existence nearly half a century. In the careers of those whom an institution has trained, after all, is to be found its title to honor or condemnation. The general catalogue of no collegiate institution, for the first fifty years of its existence, presents a more remarkable series of great names in church and state. The clerical, medical and legal professions are represented by influential and illustrious men. The cause of the higher education is represented by great teachers and administrators. To the Continental Congress and to the Continental army the college gave eminent and patriotic members and officers. The graduates of no other college were so numerous or so influential in the Constitutional Convention. Its alumni were to be found in the two Houses of Congress, in the Legislatures of the different States, in the chairs of governors, in the seat of the chief justice, in the courts of the various States, in the cabinets of Presidents and as envoys of the Republic at foreign capitals.

Of the earlier administrations, the administration of Witherspoon is the most illustrious, if judged by the brilliant careers of its students. It was given to no other man in America in the eighteeth century to take the most prominent part in the education of thirteen presidents of colleges. During his presidency there were graduated six men who afterwards became delegates to the Continental Congress, twenty men who represented their respective Commonwealths in the Senate of the United States, and twenty-four who sat as members of the House of Representatives. Thirteen were governors of Commonwealths, three were judges of the Supreme Court, one was Vice-President and one was President of the United States. Upon the characters of most of these Witherspoon set his mark. They were imbued with his views in philosophy and morals. His high and profound religious character gave tone to their lives; and his patriotism wrought in them as an inspiration. If the greatness of a man is to be measured by the influence he has exerted on other minds, John Witherspoon must

be remembered as one of the foremost men of the Republic during its heroic period. The close of his administration was less than eight weeks in advance of the close of his life. He was able to preside at the annual commencement on the 23d of September, 1794. On the 15th of November, *veneratus*, *dilectus*, *lugendus omnibus*,* he passed to his reward.

PRINCETON. JOHN DEWITT.

* From the inscription on his tombstone.

Princeton College Administrations in the Nineteenth Century.

By John DeWitt, Class of 1861,
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(Reprinted from The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, for Oct., 1897.)

PRINCETON COLLEGE ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

UP to the close of Dr. Witherspoon's presidency, Princeton College during each administration derived its special traits almost wholly from the president. He determined its curriculum; he exercised its discipline in all serious cases; he begged money for its maintenance; he led its religious life; he taught several branches of learning to the members of the higher classes. The distance at which many of the trustees lived and the difficulties of travel prevented frequent meetings of the board, and threw on him responsibilities, in number and variety, far beyond those now devolved on college presidents. The faculty of instruction was made up of himself and two or three tutors. The latter, by the constitution of the college, were so completely under his direction as scarcely to deserve the name of colleagues. The relation between the president and the students was immediate and close. He stood to them *in loco parentis*, and they felt at liberty to go to him at all times for advice and for aid. Princeton was fortunate in its presidents. Each was fitted by his character and prepared by his previous career for the conduct of his office. All had been pastors. In obedience to what they believed to be a divine vocation, all in early manhood had undertaken the cure of souls. Some of them had successfully conducted private schools, and all had had their religious affections warmed by evangelical revival. If some of the readers of this historical sketch should be disposed to criticise it because so much attention has been given to the presidents, the answer is obvious: the life of the college was almost wholly directed and determined by the president for the time being. To send a student to Princeton was to commit him to Samuel Davies or John Witherspoon for the formation of his character, for the discipline of his faculties, and, in some measure, for the direction of his subsequent life.

The death of Witherspoon marks the point at which the president loses much of his relative prominence. From this point onward the college has a powerful life of its own. Of course, the president is always the great figure in a college. But the

Reprinted from the Oct., 1897, number of The Presbyterian and Reformed Review.

presidents of Princeton after Witherspoon are far less prominent than the institution; and the success of their administrations is due to the exaltation of the college at the expense of activities to which their gifts would otherwise have impelled them. Jonathan Edwards expected to find in the presidency of the Princeton College of his day an opportunity for literary activity, and planned to compose a great philosophy of history with the title, *The History of Redemption;* but James McCosh, though always industrious as a writer, found the administrative duties of his position so various and so commanding as absolutely to forbid the composition of volumes like those which had given him distinction, before he came to America.

On the sixth day of May, 1795, the trustees unanimously elected Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith Dr. Witherspoon's successor. Dr. Smith had been vice-president since 1789, and had relieved the president of many of the burdens of his office. He accepted at once, appeared before the board and took the oath of office. His inauguration was postponed until the next commencement, the thirtieth of September following, when he delivered an inaugural address in the Latin language. For the first time the salary of the president was designated in the coinage of the United States. It was fixed at fifteen hundred dollars a year, with the usual perquisites. The new president was a native of Pennsylvania, and the son of a pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Pequea. His mother was a sister of Samuel Blair, the head of the academy at Fagg's Manor. He was the first alumnus of the college to fill the presidency. He was graduated in 1769, and as the first scholar of his class pronounced the Latin salutatory. A year after his graduation, when twenty-one years of age, he returned to Princeton as tutor in the college, and for the purpose of reading divinity under Dr. Witherspoon. He taught the classics and belles-lettres. Here he remained until 1773, when he went to Virginia as a missionary. The interest awakened by his preaching was deep and widespread. "Throughout the Middle and Southern States," says Dr. Philip Lindsley, "he was regarded as a most eloquent and learned divine by his contemporaries." The impression made by him as a preacher and scholar led to his call as the first president of Hampden Sidney College. He was president for three or four years, when the state of his health compelled him to resign. In 1779 he was invited to become professor of moral philosophy at Princeton, and though strongly attached to Virginia, he accepted and from this time on labored for his *Alma Mater*. He came only two years after the battle of Princeton. Dr. Witherspoon was a member of Congress, and a large amount

of administrative work fell on Prof. Smith. This work was done under most difficult conditions, for he was never strong; and on several occasions he was prostrated by hemorrhages like those which compelled him to retire from Hampden Sidney. Yet he neglected no work; and his learning obtained recognition from the two colleges of New England and from learned societies. In the year 1785 he was made an honorary member of the American Philosophical Society, and delivered its anniversary oration, an address intended to establish the unity of the species. In 1786 he was engaged with other eminent ministers of the church with which he was connected in preparing its form of government with a view to organizing the General Assembly.

Dr. Smith was anxious to extend the course of instruction and to enlarge the teaching body. Besides himself, at the time of his accession to the presidency, Dr. Minto was the only professor. Dr. Smith established a professorship of chemistry the year of his accession to the presidency. The first occupant of the chair was John Maclean, a native of Glasgow and a graduate of its university. When he had completed his medical course, Dr. Maclean gave special attention to chemistry, studying at Edinburgh, London and Paris. While at Paris he adopted new theories, not only in chemistry, but in government. He became a republican and emigrated to the United States. Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, to whom he brought letters, recommended him to settle in Princeton and practice his profession. Dr. Rush, at the same time, recommended the college to secure his services as a lecturer in chemistry. The lectures made a profound impression. In 1795 he was elected to the first chair of chemistry established in any college in the United States. It was through Dr. Maclean that Princeton College was enabled to perform a valuable service for Yale College. Benjamin Silliman, the first professor of chemistry in Yale College, writes as follows in his diary: "Brief residence in Princeton. At this celebrated seat of learning an eminent gentleman, Dr. John Maclean, resided as professor of chemistry, etc. I early obtained an introduction to him by correspondence, and he favored me with a list of books for the promotion of my studies. I also passed a few days with Dr. Maclean in my different transits to and from Philadelphia, obtained from him a general insight into my future occupation, inspected his library and apparatus, and obtained his advice respecting many things. Dr. Maclean was a man of brilliant mind, with all the acumen of his native Scotland, and a sparkling wit gave variety to his conversation. I regard him as my earliest master of chemistry, and Princeton as my first starting-point in that pursuit, although I had not an opportunity to attend

any lectures there." All accounts of Prof. Maclean show that the admiration expressed for him by Dr. Silliman was general. Archibald Alexander visited Princeton in 1801, and wrote of him as one of the most popular instructors who ever graced the college. "He is at home," says Dr. Alexander, "almost equally in all branches of science. Chemistry, natural history, mathematics and natural philosophy successfully claim his attention." For a period of seventeen years he was professor in Princeton College. In 1812, believing that a milder climate would restore his health, he resigned and accepted the chair of natural philosophy and chemistry at William and Mary; but before the first college year closed, illness compelled him to resign. He returned to Princeton and died in 1814.

The funds of the college and its buildings suffered greatly during the War of the Revolution. Its library was scattered and its philosophical apparatus almost entirely destroyed. The trustees appealed to the State of New Jersey for aid, and the state granted six hundred pounds a year, proclamation money, for a period of three years; the use of the money being limited to the repair of the college buildings, the restoration of the college library and the repair and purchase of philosophical apparatus. This appropriation was intended simply to make good losses which the college had suffered as a consequence of the war; and if the influence exerted by the college on behalf of the independence of the colony is considered, it must be regarded rather as the payment of a debt than as a gift. Dr. Minto, the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, died in 1796. The college was too poor to fill his place with another professor, and the work of his chair was taken by Prof. Maclean. The reputation which Prof. Maclean gave to the college led to applications on the part of students who desired to pursue only the scientific part of the college curriculum. These applications were granted by the board, and a resolution was passed not only that they should be permitted to read on scientific subjects only, but also that they should receive certificates of their proficiency, to be publicly delivered to them on the day of commencement, the college reserving to itself the privilege of bestowing honorary degrees on those who have highly distinguished themselves in science in this or other colleges.

As though the college had not been sufficiently disciplined by its poverty and the calamities incident to the war of Independence; on the sixth of March, 1802, Nassau Hall, except the outer walls, was destroyed by fire. This was the second destruction of the library and a large part of the philosophical apparatus. The trustees met on the sixteenth, and at once determined to rebuild upon the orig-

inal plan of the college, making, however, a few alterations, partly with a view to security from fire, and partly to increase the room devoted to instruction and philosophical apparatus. An address was issued to the people of the United States, reciting the design and history of the college and appealing to the friends of religion, of science and of civil liberty for contributions for the rebuilding of the hall and the endowment of the institution. Forty thousand dollars were subscribed. In 1802 the chair of languages was founded, and William Thompson* was chosen its professor. In 1803, Dr. Henry Kollock,† a graduate of the class of '94, was elected professor of theology and Andrew Hunter, also an alumnus, professor of mathematics and astronomy.

A report from the faculty to the board describes in great detail the curriculum at this time, of which Dr. Maclean justly says, that no one after reading it can fail to see that the labors of the president, professors and tutors must have been extremely arduous, and that the course of instruction was liberal and in many respects would compare favorably with that of the college at a much later date. So rapidly did the number of students increase, that in 1805 it was proposed to erect an additional building. It was thought that a wealthy gentleman interested in scientific pursuits would aid the college, but his offer was withdrawn, with the result that seventy students were compelled to room elsewhere than in Nassau Hall. How rapid this increase was may be inferred from the fact that in 1806 fifty-four members of the senior

* William Thompson, in 1802, was called from Dickinson College, Pa., where he had been professor of Languages to the chair with the same title in Princeton. Dr. Maclean (*Hist.*, Vol. ii, p. 45), says of him: "He had the reputation of being an accurate scholar, a good teacher and an excellent man. He was advanced in life when he had become Professor in Princeton College, and after a few years, his mind giving way under the pressure of arduous duties, he was constrained to give up his position, and died not long after."

† Henry Kollock was born at New Providence, N. J., December 14, 1778, and was graduated at Princeton, 1794; in 1794 was appointed tutor, with John Henry Hobart, afterwards P. E. Bishop of New York, who says of Kollock: "Although he is a Democrat and a Calvinist, he is the most intelligent, gentlemanly and agreeable companion I have ever found." He pursued his theological studies without a preceptor and "made considerable proficiency," says Dr. Carnahan, "in Hebrew, Chaldee and Arabic." His teachers in theology were the great English theologians, Anglican and Puritan. He was licensed to preach in 1800 and soon after became pastor of the Church of Elizabethtown. In 1803 he returned to Princeton as pastor and professor of theology. In 1806 he accepted a call from the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah. He died December 29, 1809. Dr. Carnahan, Bishop Capers, of the Methodist Church, and the Hon. John M. Berrien, of Georgia, all speak of him as a man of great eloquence, charming in society and exceptionally faithful and acceptable as a Christian pastor. Vide *Sprague's Annals*, Vol. iv, pp. 273 *et seq.*

class were admitted to the first degree in the arts. At no previous period in its history had the college attained an equal degree of prosperity and reputation. The faculty consisted of a president, four professors, three tutors and an instructor in French, and the number of students had risen to two hundred. Indeed, the number of students was almost too large for the faculty. Disturbances occurred which compelled that body to invoke in their behalf the authority of the trustees. Commencement day was regarded as a public holiday for the population of the entire district in which the college was situated. It furnished an occasion for other than academic sport. "Eating and drinking, fiddling and dancing, playing for pennies, and testing the speed of their horses, were the amusements to which no small numbers of those assembled on such occasions were wont to indulge." Just because of the college's prosperity discipline was difficult to exercise; but had the trustees not interfered with the faculty, it is probable that the strife arising from time to time between the students and their instructors would have been easily composed.

In 1810 and 1811 conferences were held between a committee of the trustees and a committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church on the subject of establishing a theological seminary for that church. The intimate relations between the college and the General Assembly, the large support that the college had received from Presbyterians, and the benefits which in return it had conferred upon that communion led both the trustees of the college and the committee of the General Assembly to consider seriously the question of affiliating the theological institution so closely with the college as to make the two institutions one. This plan was soon abandoned. But the trustees and the committee concurred in the belief that the seminary might well find its home near to the college; and an agreement was made by which the trustees engaged not to appoint a professor of theology in the college should the seminary be permanently established at Princeton. The college retained its freedom, and the seminary was established as an institution of the General Assembly, beginning its life in 1812. While the immediate effect of the establishment of this new institution was to prevent for many years all collection of funds for the improvement of the college, both institutions derived substantial advantages from their establishment in the same town, and from their warm friendship.

Dr. Smith resigned in 1812. He lived seven years after his retirement. He revised and published some of his works. He died on the twenty-first of August, 1819, in the seventieth year of his age. The graduates of the college during his administration did

not, as a class, gain the distinction reached by those graduated under his predecessor; but the list includes a vice-president of the United States, two presidents of the United States Senate, nine United States senators, twenty-five members of the House of Representatives, four members of the president's cabinet, five ministers to foreign courts, eight governors of states, thirty-four judges and chancellors, and twenty-one presidents or professors of colleges.

Dr. Ashbel Green's administration of the college, as president *pro tempore*, soon after the burning of Nassau Hall, in 1802, was so successful, that upon Dr. Smith's resignation he was unanimously chosen president. When elected he was a trustee. He was an alumnus. His father, the Rev. Jacob Green, a graduate of Harvard, was one of the trustees named by Governor Belcher in the second charter; his grandfather, the Rev. John Pierson, a graduate of Yale, was one of the promoters of the college and a trustee under the first charter; and his great grandfather, Abraham Pierson, a graduate of Harvard, was one of the founders of Yale, and its first president and rector. His father had acted as president of the college, with the title of vice-president, during the period intervening between the death of Jonathan Edwards and the election of Samuel Davies. Ashbel Green was born at Hanover, in Morris county, New Jersey, in 1762. He was graduated at the college in 1783, and delivered the valedictory oration. Immeately after graduation he was appointed tutor; and two years afterwards was elected professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. After holding his professorship for a year and a half, he accepted a call from the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. In this position he had from the beginning an eminent career. His fine presence, courtly manners and prominent family connections made him a prominent citizen of Philadelphia. As Philadelphia was the national capital, he was brought into intimate contact with some of the most eminent men of the country. His autobiography is one of the interesting personal records of the period. He had scarcely been settled in Philadelphia when the work of reorganizing the Presbyterian Church for the now independent United States was begun. This work was contemporaneous with the formation of the Federal Constitution. Young as he was, no minister of the church, not even Dr. Witherspoon, was more influential in this important and difficult work. From the first he was in favor of the separation of Church and State, and strongly advised those changes in the Scotch Confession of Faith which placed the Presbyterian church of this country specifically on the platform of the widest religious liberty.

He was a high Calvinist and a strong Presbyterian, active in the

church's judicatories and deeply interested in the organization of its missionary work. He was elected chaplain of the congress of the United States in 1792, with Bishop White, and was reëlected by every successive congress until, in 1800, the capital was changed from Philadelphia to Washington. During his pastorate in Philadelphia he made two extended journeys, one to New England and the other to Virginia, and was received in both sections of the country as a man of eminence. He was deeply interested in theological education; was one of the original committee of the General Assembly to organize a theological seminary, and was the author of the plan for a theological institution which the assembly adopted and to which it gave effect in the institution at Princeton. He was president of its board of directors from the beginning until his death in 1848; and when, in 1824, the trustees of the theological seminary were incorporated, he was made one of them, and continued a trustee for the remainder of his life. At the time of his election to the presidency of Princeton College he was the best known and probably the most influential minister of the Presbyterian Church.

On the twenty-ninth of October 1812, after having been a pastor for more than twenty-five years, he left Philadelphia for Princeton, and entered upon the duties of the college presidency. The trustees associated with him Mr. Elijah Slack, vice-president of the college and professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and chose two tutors. Soon after, Mr. Lindsley was elected professor of languages. During the first year of Dr. Green's administration these gentlemen constituted the faculty. The period was one of great excitement throughout the country. It was the year of the beginning of the second war with Great Britain. The excitement of the nation was reflected in the life of the college. Discipline was difficult. Soon after Dr. Green's induction disturbances became so serious as almost to threaten a general rebellion. The conduct of the faculty and of Dr. Green, especially, in the suppression of the disturbances and in disciplining the offenders was eminently wise; certainly, it was so regarded by the trustees. The latter body put on record its opinion that the faculty manifested a degree of prudence, vigilance, fidelity and energy that deserved the warmest thanks of every friend of the college. The succeeding year was passed not only without any recurrence of the difficulties, but with good order and a profound religious movement. This was true also of the year 1815. But the college year of 1816–17 proved, "to be the most turbulent year of Dr. Green's administration." It was the year of the great rebellion, and was ended with the dismission of a large number of students. The

action of the trustees, or the remarks of some of them, following the rebellion, the vice-president of the college interpreted as a reflection on himself; and he resigned. Dr. Slack was a man of ability, and indeed of eminence in the departments under his charge, and Dr. Maclean, who knew him, pays a high tribute to his character, his fidelity and ability. The vacancy caused by his resignation was filled by the election of Prof. Henry Vethake, a member of the faculty of Rutgers College. In 1818 a chair was added with the title of Experimental Philosophy, Chemistry and Natural History. Dr. Jacob Green, son of the president and a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, was elected and filled it with ability until his father's resignation.

Meanwhile, as the college was increasing in numbers, the trustees proposed to build a new edifice and to place its students under the government of an entirely different faculty so soon as the number of students should render it expedient to do so. A site was not selected, but a committee was appointed to seek one within the limits of the village, and resolutions looking to the endowment of this new college were passed. The plan failed. Had this succeeded, it is probable that Princeton University to-day would have been a collection of small colleges under one corporation. In 1819, the qualifications for admission were made more severe, but the regulations could not be enforced owing to the inefficiency of the preparatory schools on which the college depended for students. The subject of discipline was oftener before the trustees during this administration than during any other; and in a resolution the relation of the faculty to the students was fixed. Dr. Green's health compelled him to resign in 1822. No one of his predecessors had before him more difficult problems connected with the interior life of the college. These he solved with great wisdom and conscientiousness. The trustees received his letter of resignation with deep regret. When they accepted it, they addressed him a letter in which they said: "In accepting your resignation, they cannot withhold the expression of their highest respect for your ministerial character, your general influence in the Church of God, your uniform and unwearied exertions to promote the best interests of the students under your care both for time and eternity. Under your auspices the college has not only been extricated from its financial difficulties, but it has secured a permanent source of increasing income, while it has sent forth a number of students not exceeded in former times, calculated to give stability to its reputation, a ledge for the continuance and the growth of its usefulness to the church and state." After his retirement from the presidency he returned to

Philadelphia, where he had been so eminent and successful as a pastor, and lived for twenty-two years a life of great activity and usefulness. He was influential in the missionary work and in the judicatories of the church. He was eminent as a citizen and a churchman. He was most deeply interested in the religious life of the students while connected with the college. He was stongly attached to the church in which he had been born, and which he had done so much to organize after the revolutionary war. Probably, he was at his best when addressing a deliberative body, or acting as a councilor upon a committee. In these two positions he was unexcelled; and it was his eminence and reputation as a councilor and legislative speaker that led to his successor, Dr. Carnahan, to say at his burial: "By his talents he was fitted to fill any civil situation, and by his eloquence to adorn the halls of our national legislature." He died when eighty-five years of age, in the year 1848, at Philadelphia, and was buried at Princeton in the cemetery where his predecessors were at rest.

After the resignation of Dr. Green, the trustees elected as president Dr. John H. Rice, of Richmond, Va. Dr. Rice was the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in that place, an eloquent and widely popular preacher, an influential writer on ecclesiastical and theological subjects, and deeply interested in collegiate and theological education. Owing to the severe illness with which he was suffering at the time of his election, and which continued for several months, he was unable to respond to the invitation until the fourteenth of March, 1823. In a letter of that date, he declined the position, believing that he was called to labor in the south; and not long afterwards he accepted a call to the chair of systematic theology in the theological seminary at Hampden Sidney, Va. The trustees appointed Prof. Lindsley to the vice-presidency and put upon him the duties of the higher office until the president-elect's arrival in Princeton. Mr. John Maclean was made teacher of mathematics and natural philosophy. Prof. Lindsley, Mr. Maclean and two tutors constituted the faculty, and about eighty students were in residence. On receiving Dr. Rice's declinature, the trustees at once elected vice-president Lindsley to the presidency; but Dr. Lindsley declined, probably because the election was not unanimous. The board then chose the Rev. James Carnahan, a native of Pennsylvania, and, at the time of his election, forty-eight years of age. Through both father and mother he was descended from Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who had settled in the Cumberland Valley. His father had been an officer of the army of the colonies during the Revolutionary War. Mr. Carnahan was graduated at Princeton in 1800 with high honor.

After a year's theological study under the Rev. Dr. John McMillan, at Cannonsburg, Pa., he returned to Princeton, and was for two years a tutor in the college. Although earnestly pressed to remain, he resigned in 1803. He labored first as a pastor, largely in the state of New York, and afterwards as a teacher. For eleven years preceding his election, he taught with great success an academy at Georgetown in the District of Columbia. He was highly esteemed throughout the communion of which he was a minister as a man of excellent judgment and absolute devotion to whatever work he gave himself.

The condition of the college was such as to make the office of president anything but inviting. The students were few. The income was small. There was almost no endowment. Repeated efforts had been made to increase the permanent funds, but it appeared impossible to excite any general interest in its welfare. There were conflicting views within the board of trustees as to the general policy of the college, and the personal relations between some of the members of the board were severely strained. Happily, Dr. Carnahan was unaware of the whole truth when the office was tendered to him. Had he known all, he would undoubtedly have declined. Indeed, so depressed was he by these difficulties, that not long after his acceptance, he made up his mind to abandon the office; and he finally retained his place only because of the earnest pleadings of his young colleague, Prof. Maclean.

Notwithstanding these exceptional burdens and perplexities, his administration after a few years became and continued to be singularly successful. The number of students was largely increased. The curriculum was enriched. The faculty was enlarged by the foundation of new chairs, and by the election of professors, some of whom became eminent in their respective departments, and whose memories are to-day among the most highly valued possessions of the university. The general catalogue contains the names of thirty professors who were elected during Dr. Carnahan's presidency. Among them are several of the most distinguished names in the annals of American science and letters. The discipline of the college, though lenient, was firmly and equitably administered, and the influence exerted by the college on the students during their residence had never before been stronger or more beneficent.

The success of Dr. Carnahan was due in part to his calm temperament, the fine balance of his faculties, his unselfish devotion to the college, and his patience under adverse conditions; partly to the liberty of action granted by him to his younger colleagues in the faculty; and largely to the remark-

able enthusiasm, energy and intelligence of the senior professor, John Maclean, who, in 1829, when not yet thirty years of age, was elected vice-president of the college. Those, who remember Dr. Maclean only in his later years, will have difficulty in bringing before them the man who, as vice-president, shared with Dr. Carnahan the duty of determining the general policy of the college; and of taking the initiative in the election of professors for chairs already established, in founding new chairs, in enlarging the number of students, and in settling the principles of college discipline. He was a man of quick intelligence, able to turn himself to almost any teaching work, always ready to change his work or to add to it, and always willing to accept a reduction of income. He was especially vigilant in looking out for new and additional teachers; but at all points he was alert, and his one ambition was the prosperity of the college. Between Dr. Carnahan and Dr. Maclean there existed, from the beginning to the close of the former's administration, a warm and intimate friendship. Each was perfectly frank with the other. Each highly valued the other. Each finely supplemented the other; and each was ready to efface himself or to work to the point of exhaustion in the interests of the institution. It is but justice to the memory of both of them to say that the administration of Dr. Carnahan, especially from 1829 until his resignation in 1854, was a collegiate administration in which the two colleagues labored as one man, the distinctive gifts of each making more valuable those of both.

Soon after Dr. Carnahan's election, the college lost the services of Vice-President Lindsley, who, as professor of languages, had done much to give the college fame. He was popular both in the college and beyond it, and his popularity was deserved. He was invited to many positions of prominence in educational institutions, both before and after he left Princeton in order to become president of Cumberland College in Tennessee. He was high-spirited, and unduly sensitive, faithful to duty not only, but enthusiastic; and as a teacher "one of the best," says Dr. Maclean, "of whom I have any knowledge."

When Dr. Lindsley retired, the smallness of the faculty compelled each of the remaining members to do an extraordinary amount of teaching as well as administrative work; and it became evident that the faculty must immediately be enlarged. The Rev. Luther Halsey was made professor of chemistry and natural history, and his acceptance gave some relief to his elder colleagues. The change in administration made discipline difficult, and the faculty appear to have begun Dr. Carnahan's administration by making one or two serious mistakes, and thus to have been responsible for

an exodus of students to Union College. One was that of invoking the civil authorities to aid the college in inflicting punishment, in a case in which college discipline ought to have been regarded as sufficient. The faculty voted, against the opposition of the president and vice-president, that the offenders should be handed over to the secular arm. These mistakes were not repeated. In 1826, the first Young Men's Christian Association connected with any college in the United States was organized in Princeton, under the name of "The Philadelphian Society;" and from that time to the present it has continued its beneficent work as the central organization of the students for religious work. The same year at commencement the first Alumni Association of Nassau Hall was formed, with James Madison, of Virginia, as president, and John Maclean as secretary.

The college continued a small institution until 1828 or 1829, when the policy of increasing the professors began to be energetically prosecuted. In this policy is to be found the chief cause of the success of Dr. Carnahan's administration. In 1829, Prof. Robert B. Patton, the successor of Dr. Lindsley as professor of languages, resigned. His resignation was a great loss to the college. He was so able a teacher as fully to have maintained the reputation which the college had secured for instruction in language during Dr. Lindsley's life in that chair. It was at this time that the board of trustees, in 1830, took the bold step of appointing six new professors, transferring, in order to do so, Prof. Maclean to the chair of ancient languages and literature. Prof. Albert B. Dod was given the chair of mathematics; Prof. Vethake, who had expressed a wish to return to Princeton, the chair of natural philosophy; John Torrey * was made the professor of chemistry and natural history; Dr. Samuel L. Howell was called to the chair of anatomy and physiology; Mr. Lewis Hargous was made professor of modern languages; and Mr. Joseph Addison Alexander † was

* John Torrey, M.D., LL.D., was born in New York, August 15, 1796, studied medicine and was admitted to practice in his native city. He was professor of chemistry at Princeton from 1830–1854. His fame rests chiefly on his contributions to botany. His active labors in this department were begun in 1815 and continued to the close of his active life. His student and associate in labor and especially in the publication of the *Flora of North America*, 1838–1843, Asa Gray, afterwards of Harvard, has written a sketch of his life, published in the Biographical Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, 1877. On his retirement from Princeton, he recommended as his successor his pupil, Dr. J. S. Schanck, LL.D., now emeritus professor of chemistry.

† Joseph Addison Alexander, D D., was born at Princeton, April 24, 1809. He was graduated with the first honor of his class in 1826. After his resignation of his chair in the college, he was elected associate professor of Oriental

appointed adjunct-professor of ancient languages and literature. No braver step was ever taken by an American college. It was soon justified by a large increase in the number of students. While the whole college had numbered up to this time less than one hundred, in 1830 and 1831 sixty-seven new students were received. The next year there were one hundred and thirty-nine in the college, and the number rose, roughly speaking, year after year, until the beginning of the civil war. The most remarkable increase is that in the decade between 1829 and 1839. In 1829 there were but seventy students, while in 1839 there were two hundred and seventy. The election of the six professors just named was only the initiation of a policy that was faithfully executed during the whole of the administration. Two years later the college secured the services of Joseph Henry, whose exceptional greatness as a man of science gave celebrity to the institution, and whose transparent goodness endeared him to both colleagues and students. In 1833, James Waddell Alexander* was elected professor of belles-lettres. In

and Biblical literature in Princeton Theological Seminary. In 1840 he was elected professor; in 1851 he was transferred to the chair of Biblical and ecclesiastical history, and in 1859 to the chair of Hellenistic and New Testament literature. He died in 1860. His power of rapidly acquiring knowledge and his extraordinary memory enabled him to read in twenty-five or more languages. His interest in them was rather literary than philological. His wide cultivation, his fine gifts of expression and his enthusiasm in scholarship and literature made him a brilliant and stimulating lecturer in every department conducted by him. His essays, sermons and commentaries show him to have been an exact scholar as well as a man of letters. His published works are many and valuable. All of them show remarkable talents and some of them genius. But they do not fairly exhibit either the high quality of his intellect or his fertility. All were written rapidly, as though he were impatient to pursue another of the many subjects to which his large and various knowledge invited him. Few Americans enjoyed so thoroughly as he did a scholar's life and very few have brought into the lecture room so much of inspiration for their students. He was thought to be the most gifted member of a singularly able family. He was a man of fine sincerity of character; a devout, humble and believing Christian.

* James Waddell Alexander, the son of the Rev. Archibald Alexander, was born March 13, 1804; graduated at Princeton College 1820 and studied at Princeton Theological Seminary. Besides being professor in the college, 1833–1834, he was professor in the theological seminary, 1844–1851; pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Trenton, N. J., 1828–1830; editor of the *Presbyterian* at an earlier date, and finally pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, from 1851 until his death in 1859. He was a gifted and cultivated man. He read widely, reflected deeply and wrote charmingly on a great variety of subjects. He was one of the most frequent and highly valued contributors to the *Princeton Review* from its establishment until his death. His love of letters was a passion only less commanding in its influence on himself than his religion. Upon all his students and parishioners a deep impression was made by his ability, cultivation, refinement and elevated character. These traits appear also in his letters, as in all his published writings. The

1834, Stephen Alexander * was added to the faculty. Indeed, it may be said that the catalogue of professors, beginning in 1830 with the name of Albert B. Dod, and closing in 1854 with Arnold Guyot,† and covering the years of Dr. Carnahan's administration,

strength and beauty of his features, his engaging social qualities, his intellectual life and his purity and unselfishness enabled him, in whatever position, to exert a stronger influence on individual men, than most men, in the circles in which he moved. He was an example of the highest type of Christian preacher and pastor produced by the American Church.

* Stephen Alexander was born in Schenectady, N. Y., September 1, 1806. He was graduated at Union College in 1824, and studied theology for two years at Princeton Theological Seminary. In 1833 he was appointed a tutor in Princeton College and continued a member of the faculty until his death in 1883. In 1840 he was elected professor of astronomy, the department in which he became eminent. His contributions to science are recorded in a memoir read before the National Academy, April 17, 1884, by his successor in the chair of astronomy, Dr. C. A. Young, who says: "His native ability was of a high order and his influence on his pupils by his instructions and upon the general community by his various discourses and by his published works and observations, has contributed powerfully and effectually to the progress of his favorite science." Of his general culture, Dr. Young says: "As a scholar Prof. Alexander was unusually broad and versatile. He was an excellent linguist, familiar with Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and with the principal European languages, all of which he read and several of which, I believe, he wrote and spoke with facility. He was fond of general literature. He was an ardent lover of metaphysics, of philosophy and of theology. He was familiar not only with the ordinary range of mathematical reading, but with many works of higher order. To an extent unusual in his time, he also kept up with the current astronomical literature by means of the foreign journals, which were then not easy to obtain in this country." "He was through and through religious," Dr. Young says, "in his belief, in his feelings and in his life, and in everything he said and did his Christian faith shone out."

† "Arnold Guyot, Ph.D., LL.D., was born at Neufchâtel, Switzerland, on September 28, 1807. He became professor of geology and physical geography in Princeton College in 1854 and died in Princeton on February 8, 1884. The notable career of science in this country can hardly be said to have begun at the time, when, by reason of political difficulties at home, the three Swiss scientists of Neufchâtel were forced to seek an asylum among us. The lives of Agassiz, Guyot and Lesquereux had been begun in that mountain land intended for freemen, and could not be snuffed out by petty party oppression. They sought another field and rose to their full power in this their adopted country. The impetus and the moulding influence which these men exerted upon the thought of their day cannot be overestimated; nor should it be forgotten that this land was in need of just such an impulse as their coming gave. All of them were generalizers of a high order, and two of them became teachers, thus putting their powers to the best practical use. Science needed such men at that time, and mankind in general, as well as the scientific world, gave them all the more attention because of their grasp of the facts known in their day and the far-reaching interrelations of those facts. Science needs such men to-day, but with the ever-widening field of view and the more intense specialization, it is to be feared that the synthetic philosopher in science is becoming a more difficult man to secure. Of the connection of

needs only to be examined to justify the statement that no policy was ever more brilliantly carried out than the policy initiated by Dr. Carnahan and Dr. Maclean of increasing the chairs and seeking men to fill them, without waiting for an endowment. What a remarkable addition in point of numbers there was to the teaching force of the institution while Dr. Carnahan was president, will be seen from the fact that during the whole life of the college up to his presidency only fourteen professors had been appointed, while during his administration alone there were thirty. Of course, some plans were adopted which failed. As early as 1834, a year in which other additions to the faculty were made, as that of Prof. Hart * to the department of languages, it was seriously attempted

Guyot with Princeton and its meaning to us, the main facts are well known. To his ability as a teacher and his capacity of making a subject clear, and to his breadth of view and the lucidity of his mind, his pupils through over thirty years bear most hearty testimony. But his influence did not terminate in the classroom or the study. His books reached the teachers of the land, and his methods, adopted with much interest and zeal, served to reform geographical teaching on this continent. His philosophic insight into the laws of nature led to the discovery of the causes of many phenomena in the realm of glacial motion; and through his coöperation the Smithsonian Institution developed a system of regular meteorological observations which has grown into our present Signal Service."—*MS. of Prof. William Libbey.*

* "John Seely Hart, LL.D., was born in Stockbridge, Mass., January 28, 1810. Graduating at Princeton College, in 1830, he taught a year in Natchez, Miss., and returned to Princeton in 1832 as tutor of the classics, becoming, in 1834, adjunct professor in the same department; principal of Edgehill School, at Princeton, 1836–41; of the Philadelphia High School, 1842–59; of the New Jersey State Normal School, at Trenton, 1863–71; he was chosen professor of rhetoric and the English language, at Princeton, in 1872, having, during his residence at Trenton, given yearly lectures at Princeton, 1864–70, on "English Philology and Letters." Resigning his professorship in 1874, he returned to Philadelphia, busily engaging in literary and, especially, Shakespearean studies, to the time of his death, March 26, 1877. His untiring industry may best be seen from the number and character of his published works, appearing, as they did, at comparatively brief intervals, for a continuous period of thirty years. In 1844 he edited the *Pennsylvania Common School Journal* and in 1849–51 *Sartain's Magazine*. Founding the *Sunday School Times* in 1859, he edited it till 1871. He published the *Reports of the Philadelphia High School*, 1842–59, and in 1844 a *Classbook of Poetry* and a *Classbook of Prose*. In 1847, there appeared his *Essay on the Life and Writings of Spenser*. In 1868, *In the Schoolroom* was issued: in 1870, his *Manual of Composition and Rhetoric*; in 1872, his *Manual of English Literature*; in 1873, his *Manual of American Literature*, and in 1874, his *Short Course in English and American Literature*. In such a list of books as this Dr. Hart's versatility is clearly seen, while special emphasis should be laid upon the fact that few, if any, authors of his time were more conscientiously and zealously devoted to the cause of education in America, having given, as he did, over forty years of his active life to strictly educational work. This was, in fact, his vocation and he worthily fulfilled it, both within the sphere of secondary and higher learning. As editor, professor and author, he aimed to raise the standard of the

to establish a summer school of medicine. The design was given up, owing to the death of the professor of anatomy and physiology, and was never revived. In 1846, a law school was founded and three gentlemen were elected professors. The lectures were kept up with much spirit for two years, but the school was then discontinued. The position of the college was not favorable to the establishment of professional schools of law and medicine, and from that time on no attempt was made to establish them.

The growth of the college compelled the authorities to provide increased accommodation for the students. Two dormitories were erected, East College in 1833 and West College in 1836, each four stories in height; they were built of stone with brick partitions and fire-proof stairways of iron, and the stairs enclosed in brick walls. Each of the dormitories gave accommodation to sixty-four students. The college authorities were unable to gratify their taste in their construction; but for sixty years and more they have served their purpose well, and it is probable that no investment of the college has yielded a larger return. The cost of erecting each was less than $14,000. The growth of the college led also to increased activity in the two literary societies. Up to this time they had no homes of their own. The meetings were held in rooms provided by the college in the building now known as the college offices. But in the winter of 1836–7, two new halls were built. The description of one will serve for both. "Whig Hall," says Prof. Cameron, "is a building in Ionic style, sixty-two feet long, forty-one feet wide, and two stories high. The columns of the hexastyle porticos are copied from those of a temple by Ilissus near the fountain of the Callirhoe, in Athens. The splen-

day in American schools and colleges, and especially to advance the study of English as a language and a literature. It is to the lasting credit of Prof. Hart, that when instruction in English was lamentably deficient in our best institutions, he insisted that it should be given a larger place and command a better grade of teaching talent. To this high end he taught and labored and prepared his several educational manuals within the specific department of English. The fact that these manuals are now superseded by modern text-books in keeping with the newer needs of the age, is in no sense a proof that in their place and way they did not meet an existing educational demand and point the path to still better agencies and results. Dr. Hart was, in no sense, a great educator, as was Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, or as Wayland and Hopkins, of America, were. He was, however, a patient, painstaking and helpful guide to students. He was, in no sense, an original and wide-minded author or investigator. He was, however, a discriminating collator of facts and data and did an invaluable work for those who were to follow him, nor did he ever forget in his educational efforts, the higher demands of character and conscience. In the developing educational progress of the country he had an honorable place and did a worthy work and must in justice be named among those who have made valid contributions to the cause of sound learning."—*MS. of Prof. T. W. Hunt.*

did temple of Dionysius in the Ionian city of Zeos, situated on a peninsula of Asia Minor, is a model of the building in other respects." During the administration of Dr. Carnahan, the college gained immensely not only by the separate, but also by the associated energies of the able men who formed the faculty. Their meetings were frequent and the exchange of ideas led to a higher and increased activity in all departments, discipline, examinations, lectures and recitations. The scientific researches of its eminent professors—for not a few of them became eminent—added to the reputation of the institution and gave it a standing which it had never before enjoyed as an institution of learning. Indeed it may be said, that in the sense in which it had been an eminent home and nursery of patriotism in the days of Witherspoon, it was now a great institution for the cultivation of the sciences and the liberal arts. From time to time, however, the college sustained great losses by the death or the removal to other institutions of several important members of the faculty. Joseph Addison Alexander, after three years of work, was seized by the theological seminary, where, until his death, he had a brilliant career. Joseph Henry, after laboring for sixteen years in the chair of natural philosophy and making discoveries in the sphere of science and performing inestimable services for his country, was called, in 1848, to the Smithsonian Institution. Albert B. Dod, who was brilliant not only in the chair of mathematics but in the pulpit and in the pages of the *Review*, died in 1845;* and James W. Alexander, whose

* "In my student days there was a professorial constellation in the faculty that for brilliancy has rarely, if ever, been equaled in any American institution. It was our privilege to be instructed in mathematics by Albert B. Dod, in physics by Joseph Henry, in belles-lettres and latin by James W. Alexander, in astronomy by Stephen Alexander, in chemistry and botany by John Torrey. Dr. Maclean's rare talent for leadership was strikingly exhibited in the selection and collection of such a group of educators at a critical period in the history of the college. All but one of the group, at that time the most conspicuous, lived to accomplish the full career of distinction of which their early professorial life gave promise. With the eminence to which these attained all are familiar. Few, however, at the present day appreciate how sore an intellectual bereavement Princeton suffered in the death of Albert B. Dod in the prime of his early manhood. His intellect was notable for the versatility as well as the rarity of his genius. He seemed alike eminent in mathematics, in physics, in philosophy, in literature, in æsthetics and in theology. Though his death occurred when but forty years of age, no one had contributed more largely to the high reputation of the *Princeton Review* not only in this country but Great Britain, by his profound and scholarly articles on "Analytical Geometry," "The Vestiges of Creation," "Transcendentalism" including an exhaustive discussion of Cousin's "Philosophy," "Oxford Architecture," Finney's "Sermons and Lectures," "The Elder Question" which at the time agitated the Presbyterian Church, and "Lyman Beecher's Theology." Rarely has any college or university had in its curri-

cultivation and fertility as a writer entitle one to say of him that he might have become one of the most eminent of American men of letters, felt it his duty to become a pastor, and resigned in 1844. These were great losses, but men of ability were at once called to the vacant places, and the large work of the institution did not suffer. Dr. Elias Loomis, and after his resignation, Prof. McCulloch, took the place of Joseph Henry. Dr. Hope, a man of charming Christian character, as well as a wise and stimulating teacher, succeeded Dr. James Alexander; and Stephen Alexander, a graduate of Union College, who became eminent as an astronomer, a man of enthusiasm and eloquence whether he spoke on scientific or religious subjects, took the place of Prof. Dod. By nothing is the intellectual life of the college at this time more clearly shown than it is by the fact that of the thirty professors elected during Dr. Carnahan's administration about one-half were its own graduates.

Dr. Carnahan resigned in 1853. In the thirty-one years of his administration, sixteen hundred and seventy-seven students were admitted to the first degree of the arts, the annual average being over fifty-four. Of these, seventy-three became presidents or professors in colleges or other seminaries of learning; eight became senators of the United States; twenty-six members of the national House of Representatives; four were members of the cabinet; and a large number became eminent in the liberal professions. The number graduated during his presidency was larger than the number graduated during the administrations of all of his predecessors. While he was in office, the relations between the trustees and the faculty and between the members of the faculty were singularly harmonious. The students enjoyed a larger measure of freedom than during any earlier administration. And when students were disciplined, the welfare of the students had quite as much influence as the welfare of the institution in determining the chastisement.

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culum a course of lectures more inspiring intellectually and æsthetically instructive than Prof. Dod's course in "Architecture," covering the whole field, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, Gothic and Modern. They were delivered without manuscript and held the audience in rapt attention by interesting information, subtle analysis of principles, elevated thought, lucid statement, brilliant rhetoric, delivered with the ease of a conversational manner with frequent passages thrillingly eloquent. The same intellectual qualities characterized his sermons. Those who remember Prof. Dod as a lecturer and preacher are frequently reminded of him when listening to the President of our University. Had Prof. Dod's life been spared, as the lives of his eminent colleagues were, to bring forth fruit even to old age, among the many Princeton men who have attained high distinction, his name would have been conspicuous."—*MS. of Prof. J. T. Duffield.*

In his letter of resignation Dr. Carnahan paid a high tribute to his colleague, Vice-President Maclean. After the remark that Dr. Maclean was the only officer living of those connected with the college when his presidency began, Dr. Carnahan said, "to his activity, energy, zeal and devotion to the interests of the institution, I must be permitted to give my unqualified testimony. We have passed through many trying times together. In time of need he was always at his post without shrinking; he was always ready to meet opposition in the discharge of what he thought to be his duty." Dr. Carnahan lived six years after his resignation. He was chosen a trustee of the college, and his successor says of him, "In every respect he was a helper to his successor and gave him his cordial support both in the board and without." He died on the 3d of March, 1859, and was buried at Princeton by the side of his immediate predecessor, Dr. Ashbel Green.

It was ordered that in December, 1853, at the stated semi-annual meeting, the Board should elect a president of the college. Three gentlemen were named for the position, two of them without their consent. One was Joseph Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, who positively declined to be a candidate. Another was the Rev. Dr. David Magie, of Elizabeth, N. J., a graduate of the college, an eminent preacher and pastor and one of the trustees, who, notwithstanding his earnest advocacy of Dr. Maclean's election, received several votes. The third was Dr. Maclean, vice-president of the college. Dr. Maclean was elected. He took the oath of office and delivered his inaugural address at the commencement of 1854. His address was partly historical and partly an exposition of the policy to be pursued during his administration. The new president was a native of Princeton, and was born on March 3, 1800. He was the son of the college's first professor of chemistry. He was graduated in the class of 1816, and was its youngest member. For a year after graduation he taught in the classical school at Lawrenceville. In 1818 he became a tutor, and from that date until his resignation as president in 1868 he was a member of the faculty. His whole active life was thus given to the college. He interested himself only in such objects as were in harmony with the interests of the college. He taught at various times mathematics, natural philosophy, Latin, Greek, and the evidences of Christianity. He acquired knowledge with great ease, and his wide intellectual sympathies are shown in the chairs he filled. In his younger life he was an able and stimulating teacher, but the burden of administration was laid upon him soon after he became a teacher; and the exceptional executive ability shown by him led his colleagues to believe

that it was his duty to subordinate his scholarly ambition to the welfare of the college. Dr. Maclean acquiesced, and in this way he was prevented from becoming eminent in any branch of study. It is not too much to say that up to his presidency Princeton had enjoyed the services of no chief executive officer who so completely sank his own personality in the institution he served. As has already been said, his untiring energies, his sagacious judgment of men and measures contributed largely to the success of the administration of Dr. Carnahan; and it was confidently expected that his own administration would at its close show an advance as great as that made between the death of Dr. Green and his own accession. In one important respect this expectation was not disappointed. It must be remembered to the lasting honor of most of the institutions of higher education in America that up to the close of the Civil War they accomplished their great work for the Church and State with almost no endowments. This is true of both Princeton and Yale. Speaking only of Princeton, after having been in existence one hundred and seven years, and after having made the noble record shown by the General Catalogue and the statistics which have been given in this sketch, the treasury contained only fifteen thousand dollars of endowments. It is almost incredible that all except this amount which had been received by the treasury was of necessity expended for the purchase of lands and the erection of buildings and the maintenance, year after year, of the work of the college. Besides maintaining the college and largely increasing the number of its students, Dr. Maclean, aided by his colleagues, and especially by Dr. Matthew B. Hope * and Dr.

* Dr. Hope's death, in 1859, was a great loss to the college. He was engaged just before his death in concerting measures for an increase in its endowment. Fortunately, so far as the duties of his chair went, the college secured an able successor in Prof. J. H. McIlvaine. "Joshua Hall McIlvaine was born in Lewes, Delaware, March 4, 1815. Graduating from Princeton College in 1837 and from Princeton Seminary in 1840, he entered upon his ministerial work at Little Falls, N. Y. Subsequently he held pastorates at Utica and Rochester, N. Y., in which last city his ministry was highly successful. In 1860 he accepted the chair of belles-lettres and elocution in Princeton College, his department in 1869 embracing also the subject of English language and literature. Called to the city of Newark, N. J., in 1870, he resigned his professorship to reassume the pastorate; here he labored until 1887, when, once again, he returned to educational work as President of Evelyn College for Women at Princeton, of which institution he was himself the founder and which at the time of his death, January 29, 1897, was completing the first decade of its history. Dr. McIlvaine was in his day a versatile scholar of high attainment. His special studies in Sanskrit and comparative philology, on which topics he lectured at the Smithsonian Institution, were carried on at a time when but few American scholars were working with Whitney along those lines of linguistic investigation. His studious devotion to the subject of "The Arrowhead Inscriptions" was worthy of a specialist in

Lyman H. Atwater,* endeavored successfully during his administration to provide the college with some permanent funds. All efforts up to this time to secure an endowment had failed; and

that department. To this distinctively philological and archæological work he added a wide rhetorical and literary culture, especially as applied within the sphere of English studies, and published at the close of his college professorship a work on *Elocution: The Sources and Elements of its Power*, which evinces a high order of ability from the fact that it vitally connects, and almost for the first time, all real training and expression with the profoundest processes of the human mind. Dr. McIlvaine was still further a pronounced political economist of the school of Carey and sought with unabated zeal to connect in vital union the highest interests of human society with the highest demands of ethical law. Teaching this subject when a professor at Princeton, he gave to it much of his best thought, awakened in its study a genuine enthusiasm, and lifted the whole department from the lower level of the merely economic to that of the moral and Christian. It was in connection with this line of work that he became such an ardent advocate of the pronounced acknowledgment of God in the Constitution of the United States. Still again, Dr. McIlvaine was a theologian of no inferior order; broad-minded and yet analytic and acute; thoroughly versed in the content of Scripture and the high truths of Christian theology, he thought and wrote and spoke on these topics with manifest ability and convincing urgency. His published works in these directions, *The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil* and *The Wisdom of the Holy Scripture*, especially the latter treatise, are a sufficient evidence of the depth and range of his theology. It was here that much of his power as a preacher lay—in the strong and vital hold that he had on the great cardinal truths of the gospel, so that he presented them in vital manner. Dr. McIlvaine was a notable example in his preaching of the union of marked intellectuality with fervent spiritual power. His thought and experience were inseparably fused, and it is not at all strange that his sermons in the college chapel were often eloquently and spiritually impressive, and had under God a moulding influence over hundreds of young men. Not a few of his sermons were made doubly potent by the sharp trials through which he was called to pass and which he bore with quiet and heroic fortitude. As a professor in the classroom, Dr. McIlvaine had exceptional gifts, being in many respects a great teacher. His conceptions of truth were clear and vivid; his personal judgments strong and deep-rooted; his discriminating logic keen and searching; and he had, withal, a gift of statement and expression which enabled him to enforce and impress his teachings. His great power as a teacher lay in his suggestiveness. He never attempted to exhaust a subject, but simply to unfold it to the view and examination of the student. He had a rare faculty of detecting the salient ideas and principles of a subject; of throwing out germinal suggestions so as to make thinkers of students and cast them largely upon their own mental resources. Such an order of instruction is more than mere instruction; it is construction and promotion, and with all the advances of higher education far too seldom seen among us. In a word, Dr. McIlvaine was a thinker and scholar and writer and teacher and preacher of unquestioned ability and possessed an individuality of mind and character as unique as it was impressive. More than this, he was in his place and way and up to the full measure of his opportunity, a distinctive moral and educational force, and has left an impress upon his generation which is not more visible than it is only because it is so deeply hidden within the lives of his pupils and parishioners."—*MS. of Prof. T. W. Hunt.*

* "My acquaintance with Prof. Lyman H. Atwater began in my freshman

efforts had repeatedly been made,—three times during the previous administration, in 1825, 1830 and 1835. "The aggregate of gifts to the college," says Dr. Duffield, "during Dr. Maclean's administration was about $450,000." This aggregate is probably a larger amount than the college had received in gifts from its foundation to the beginning of Dr. Maclean's administration. The accessions to the college were greatly increased. The last year of Dr. Carnahan's administration the number catalogued was two hundred and forty-seven; seven years later, in 1861, just before the beginning of the civil war, three hundred and fourteen students were in residence. But for the beginning of hostilities and the exodus of all the students from the south, the graduating class of that year would probably have numbered nearly one hundred. The life of the college during this period was in no respect different from its life during the previous administrations. The same modes of teaching were pursued and the same policy in discipline was executed. The aim of Dr. Maclean and his colleagues was to perfect the institution as a college. They had tried the experiment of a university and as they supposed had failed. The summer school of medicine and the law school had been abandoned, and the whole influence of the faculty was exerted to develop the institution along the lines of the course of study leading to the first degree in the arts. In this

year when, on the occasion of some discipline which the faculty had imposed on some members of our class, a committee of which I was a member waited on several members of the faculty in order, if possible, to secure some mitigation of the penalty. Dr. Atwater was one of the professors we called on, and I shall not soon forget the dignified courtesy with which we were received or the wholesome and judicious advice which he gave us. I was very much impressed at the time with his kindly but commanding presence, and conceived on the spot an admiration for the old man which with further acquaintance ripened into genuine regard. It was in my junior year that I first came to know Prof. Atwater as a teacher. That was the relation in which I knew him best. He conducted classes in logic, metaphysics, economics and political science. He was somewhat old-fashioned in his methods, but was one of the most effective teachers I have ever known. Physically he was a very large man, with a somewhat elephantine gait and his English would have delighted the soul of Dr. Johnson. But he had the faculty of making himself intelligible, and his subjects were among those that were most intelligently appreciated and understood by the large body of students. Dr. Atwater was very conscientious in his work and spared no pains to make his subjects clear to the average intelligence of his pupils. He had an unusual faculty for logical division and definition and a power of statement which, on looking back over the lapse of years, I still think to have been extraordinary. But more than his qualities as a teacher, what endeared Prof. Atwater to us students was the perfect fairness and just considerateness with which he treated us. However we might fare at the hands of other professors, we were perfectly sure that "Dad," as we affectionately called him, would give us fair play, and in this we were never disappointed. Dr. Atwater combined a considerate disposition with an eminently judicial temper. I used to think that

Dr. Maclean and the faculty were eminently successful. The curriculum was enriched and the faculty was enlarged. How popular the college was and how really national it was in the support given to it will be seen from the fact that of the three hundred and more students in attendance during the college year of 1859–60, more than one-third came from the Southern States, and that twenty-six of the thirty-one States of the Union were represented in the classes.

The success of Dr. Maclean's administration, as thus indicated, was achieved in spite of great obstacles. He had not been a year in the presidency when the college suffered a second time from the burning of Nassau Hall. It was destroyed by fire in 1855, and was rebuilt at great expense; the old chapel being enlarged and made the library. This expenditure had scarcely been made, when the college was compelled by the financial panic which seized the country in 1857 to abandon for a time the project of increasing its endowment. A period of business depression followed, from which the country had not recovered when, in 1861, the southern States seceded and the civil war began. No college in the north was so popular in the south as Princeton. As has already been said, at the beginning of the civil strife one-third of its students were living south of Mason and Dixon's line. When to this blow is

in his case a great jurist had been spoiled in order to make a great professor. But none of the students of his time would have been willing to enrich the judiciary of the country at the expense of the Princeton faculty. I well remember going to Dr. Atwater on a number of occasions for advice. This was never refused. With what at the time seemed to me unnecessary minuteness the learned professor would indicate by a process of logical exclusion a number of alternatives that were not to be chosen. He would then say, "but if I were in your case I think I should take the following course, to wit," and then he would outline a policy so eminently sensible as to carry instant conviction with it and leave nothing further to be said. Dr. Atwater was wise and conservative in counsel and seldom made a mistake. He was a man upon whose judgment not only the students but also his colleagues in the faculty leaned. He was a pillar in the Church, being recognized as an authority in ecclesiastical law and a citizen who was profoundly interested in the welfare of his community and the nation. His ripe judgment came to be respected by our public men and legislators, who in times of perplexity came to him for council and guidance. Dr. Atwater's was a great, simple and kindly nature. He was honest, open and straightforward in all his dealings with his fellowmen. Anything like sharp practice or Machiavellian politics was wholly foreign to his nature. There was a simple dignity about the man that was truly Roman, and with it all he was animated by a child-like Christian spirit. His religion was as straight and as genuine as his life. Seeing his homely goodness from day to day, we students could not doubt the reality of the Christianity he professed. On that February day in 1883, when the dear old man died, the world lost a large and royal soul, but he left behind him the record of a noble life which is still a power in the hearts of all who knew and loved him." —*MS. of Prof. Alexander T. Ormond.*

added the enlistment of not a few of its students in the Union army and the diminution of the entering classes on account of the call of the country on its young men to defend the Union on the field of battle, the only cause for wonder is that during the four years of active hostilities the college maintained itself so well. With the close of the war the numbers of the students slowly increased. Three years after peace was declared, that is to say, in 1868, the entering students numbered one hundred and seventeen—"the largest number," says Dr. Duffield, "up to that period in the history of the college." But just as the college was recovering the popularity which it enjoyed immediately before the war began, Dr. Maclean began to feel the burdens of age. His energy was not what it once was, and, what was more important, the war among its other revolutions had changed the views of many, interested in higher education, concerning the college curriculum and college management. The Presbyterian Church of the north, which had been divided since 1838, was preparing the way for a reunion. The country was entering upon a new life. Dr. Maclean felt that he should yield to another the position which for fourteen years he had occupied with such conspicuous success. He resigned at the close of fifty years of official life, his resignation taking place at the commencement of 1868. After he retired he employed his leisure in writing the history of the college. One of his students has admirably said: "Of the intellectual character of Dr. Maclean it is not easy to form an estimate. The circumstances of the college forced him to give instruction in so many departments that it would have been a marvel if he had found additional time to prove his genius in any. But so strong and facile was his mental energy that it developed a notable degree of talent for almost every subject that interested him. He was able to hold the different chairs in Princeton, not through mere partiality; for, it is now known—what his modesty at the time concealed—that he received overtures from other colleges to fill similar professorships with them. Dr. Matthew B. Hope,* than whom Princeton never had a

*Matthew B. Hope, D.D, was born in Central Pennsylvania, June 31, 1812, and died at Princeton, December 17, 1859. He was a graduate of Jefferson College, of Princeton Theological Seminary and of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania. He was licensed and ordained as an evangelist in 1835; went as a missionary to Singapore, India, in 1836; returned home after two years because of failing health; was appointed financial secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Education in 1839 and corresponding secretary in 1842. In 1846 he resigned the secretaryship of the Board for the professorship of belles-lettres and political economy in the College of New Jersey. He was a man of excellent judgment, of clear insight, of strong convictions, of high and solemn purpose, of strong individuality, direct,

shrewder judge of men, used to say that had Maclean given himself to any particular study in science, philosophy or language, he would easily have attained celebrity in it. If we doubt this, we may find a reason for the failure of Dr. Maclean to become a master in specialty, not in the lack of special ability, but rather in the possession of certain other intellectual impulses, which made his thoughts overflow any single channel."*

But if he failed to attain eminence in any single direction, Dr. Maclean was eminently gifted as a councilor. He grasped seriously the elements of any situation in which the college was placed, and was as able as most men to discern the policy which it demanded. He knew men well. Quickly and with a large degree of accuracy, he inferred character from conduct. He not only seldom made mistakes, but was extraordinarily successful in the selection or nomination of colleagues. His accurate estimate of

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kindly, without pride and without show. As a teacher of rhetoric he analyzed 'the process and the laws underlying the process by which the convictions of the intellect are not only conveyed from the speaker to the hearers, but transferred, in the act of conveyance, from the sphere of the intellect to that of the active powers.' In other words, he taught rhetoric both as a science and as an art. He had a subtle, analytic mind, and, above all the other members of the faculty, he sought to make the students *think*. His classroom exercises were mental gymnastics. If the students in their answers repeated the precise language of his book or lectures, it worried him. For, as style is the expression of the individuality of the man, such answers were no decisive evidence to him that the students had mastered the subject and assimilated the thought, and when he plied them with questions to test them, and brought their ignorance of the subject to light, it was with utter self-oblivion and an ardent desire to make them think and to bring them to see the truth. His lectures on political economy were based on the principle involved in the precept, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' When he criticised an author, it was not with an air of superior wisdom, nor as one who was seeking to exalt himself at the expense of the author, but with a genuine love of truth and desire that the student might see and get the truth. He was honest through and through, a preëminently good man, and intensely interested in the spiritual welfare of the students. One of his ablest and most distinguished pupils, Dr. D. S. Gregory, says: 'Dr. Hope was one of the most remarkable men whom I ever met. His was one of the most delicately organized natures I ever knew. In it there was naturally the greatest delicacy of the senses accompanied by remarkable keenness and breadth of intellect, depth of emotion, firmness of will and sensitiveness of taste and conscience and all dominated by absolute loyalty to Jesus Christ. As a teacher, educator, instructor, he was by far the ablest with whom I ever came in contact. . . . . During the years of my connection with Princeton College, he was preëminently the spiritual power in the institution, so far as that power was embodied in any one personality. I doubt if any man in any institution ever exerted greater transforming influence over his pupils than did Dr. Hope over those who came into closest relations with him.'"—*MS. of Prof. S. Stanhope Orris.*

* Memorial Address by James M. Ludlow, D.D.

men was shown clearly in his estimate of himself. Probably no man ever connected with Princeton College took his own measure more exactly. This knowledge of himself was due not more to his ability than to the sincerity of his character. This sincerity, with the magnanimity and charity that were blended with it, was recognized not only by those associated with him in the board of trustees and faculty of instruction, but also by his students and the people of the town in which he passed his life. "My immediate predecessor," says Dr. McCosh, "was John Maclean, the well-beloved, who watched over young men so carefully and never rebuked a student without making him a friend." * Dr. Charles Hodge called him the most loved man in America; and Dr. Ludlow gave apt expression to the feeling of all his students touching his personal interest in them in the remark: "St. Hildegarde used to say, 'I put my soul within your soul.' Dr. Maclean put his soul within the soul of the young man if ever a man did; he felt for us, he felt as he felt himself in us." It was the conviction of Dr. Maclean's sympathy with the life of each of his students, his readiness to sacrifice himself for their interests, that gave him in his old age and retirement the love and honor and troops of friends that blessed his latest years. In the narrower and retired life he lived after his resignation, he was as active as a philanthropist, though within a restricted field, as he ever had been. As he had lived beloved by all, he died lamented by all, August 10, 1886.

The resignation of Dr. Maclean having been accepted to take effect at the commencement of 1868, the trustees elected, as his successor, the Rev. Dr. William Henry Green, professor of Oriental and Old Testament literature in Princeton Theological Seminary. Though himself a graduate of Lafayette College, Prof. Green's family had been associated with Princeton College from its foundation. Jonathan Dickinson, the first president of the college, and Caleb Smith, its first tutor, were among his ancestors; and among its distinguished graduates and benefactors have been some of his near relatives. For many years he had given himself exclusively to Oriental and Old Testament studies, but in his younger life he had shown fine gifts as a teacher in other departments, and had been the pastor of a prominent church in Philadelphia. It was felt not only that his acceptance would strengthen the hold of the college on the church which had in the main supported it, and bring to it new friends and enlarged endowment, but that Dr. Green's scholarship and character would greatly benefit the scholarship, the discipline and the general life of the institution. The trustees received his declinature with great regret, but the news of it was heard at the theological seminary with the greatest pleasure.

* *Life of James McCosh*, p. 192.

Except that of Dr. Green, no name united the trustees until it was proposed that the Rev. Dr. James McCosh, professor of logic and philosophy in Queen's College, Belfast, Ireland, be invited to take the vacant chair. Dr. McCosh visited America in 1866, and his addresses deepened the favorable impression which his apologetic and philosophical writings had made. He was received and heard everywhere as a thinker and writer of deserved eminence. The writer of this sketch well remembers the large audience which gathered in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, one evening during this visit, to listen to his defense of the Gospels against the attack made upon them in Renan's *Life of Jesus*, and how fully he sustained the reputation which had preceded him. His views in philosophy were those which had been taught and defended at Princeton College, and his Scottish nationality and his residence in Ulster were an additional recommendation to the college of John Witherspoon and to the Church of Francis Makemie. Moreover, the fact that he had taken the side of the Free Church at the disruption, led the friends of the college to believe that he would be at home in a republic. The divided Presbyterian Church was about to reunite, and it was fortunate that Dr. McCosh had no memories of the theological and ecclesiastical battles which culminated in the division. For these reasons, his acceptance was received with great pleasure, and with confidence that the college would prosper and be enlarged during his administration. The Rev. Dr. Stearns, of Newark, a trustee of the college, was moderator of the New School Presbyterian General Assembly in 1868. While the Assembly was sitting he learned of Dr. McCosh's acceptance. The writer happened to be standing by, when he told the news to the late Dr. Henry Boynton Smith. Dr. Smith said: "It was a wise choice. He is a man of great ability. He may easily prove as great a gift to the church and state as John Witherspoon." While his acceptance awakened high hopes, no one anticipated his great and brilliant administration. Looking back upon it, now that it has been closed, it must be regarded as the most successful, and in important respects the greatest administration the college has enjoyed. Undoubtedly Dr. McCosh was fortunate in the time of his presidency and in his colleagues. But greatness consists largely in seizing the opportunities which time offers; and not a few of his colleagues were his own students who owed their inspiration to his teachings and example.

His administration is too recent to make appropriate an estimate of it like that which has been given of each of the earlier administrations. He is the last of the presidents who have completed their work. Such an estimate can be made only of a presidency

which stands not at the close of but well within a series. Concerning one thing, however, there is no peril in making a positive statement. Whatever shall be the development of the institution hereafter, it must always be said of James McCosh that, while loyal to the foundation and the history of the college, he, more than any other man, made it a university. Though it was not until after his death that the name was given, it should never be forgotten that the university life began in and because of his administration.*

* The following minute of the faculty adopted November 17, 1894, recognizes this fact:

"In recording the death of President McCosh, the faculty are not able to give adequate expression to their feeling. For many years their relations with him were closer than those of any other portion of the academic body; and their continued friendship with him since his retirement from office has only deepened the sense of bereavement and increased the veneration and love with which they have followed him to his grave.

"While presiding in the faculty, Dr. McCosh always commanded respect by his conscientious devotion to the college; by his fidelity in the routine of official duties; by his watchful supervision of the details of the whole administration; by his kindly interest in the labors of his colleagues; by his hospitable welcome to every new study and new teacher; by the wisdom and liberality of his plans for expanding the courses of instruction; and the wonderful efficiency and success with which he carried these plans toward completion.

"The results of his presidency have made a new epoch in our history. *The college has virtually become a university.* Its faculty has been trebled in numbers. Its alumni and friends have rallied around it with new loyalty. Munificent gifts have been poured into its treasury. Schools of science, of philosophy, of art, of civil and electrical engineering have been founded, with endowed professorships, fellowships and prizes, and an ample equipment of libraries, museums, laboratories, observatories, chapels, dormitories, academic halls and athletic grounds and buildings. We live amid architectural monuments of his energy, which other college generations after us will continue to admire.

"In his own department of instruction, Dr. McCosh has raised the college to its proper eminence as a seat of philosophical culture. He did this primarily as a thinker, by original contributions to logic, to metaphysics, to psychology, to ethics and to the intuitional school of philosophy; also as a writer, by the numerous works, written in a strong and clear style, with which he has enriched the philosophical literature of his time; and especially as an inspiring teacher, by training enthusiastic disciples, who are now perpetuating his influence in various institutions of learning. From this faculty alone a band of such disciples has borne him reverently to his burial.

"In the sphere of college discipline, Dr. McCosh aimed at the moral training of the whole undergraduate community. The students were brought into more normal relations with the faculty. Vicious traditions and customs among them were uprooted. Their self-government was guarded and promoted; and their religious life found fuller expression in the new Marquand Chapel, Murray Hall and the St. Paul's Society.

"In the cause of the higher education Dr. McCosh became a leader at once conservative and progressive. On the one hand he sought to retain the

The story of the life and work of this great president, it has seemed to the writer, ought to be told here by those who knew him intimately and were associated with him in the work he did. Happily, the literature is abundant and throws light from various sides on his striking personality, his gifts as a thinker, writer and teacher, and his career as a president. For a biography detailed enough for our purpose, we are indebted to his student, colleague and intimate friend, Prof. Andrew F. West. This biography, illustrated by extracts from his autobiography and estimates of his ability and attainments by others who knew him well, will for this article be the best history of his administration.

"Rarely," writes Prof. West, "has academic history repeated itself with such precision and emphasis as in the person of James McCosh, who, though unique in his own generation, had a real prototype in the person of one, though only one, of his predecessors, President John Witherspoon, the ruler of Princeton a century ago. Each of them was in point of ancestry a Covenanter, by birth a Lowland Scotchman, in his youth a student at the University of Edinburgh, in his manhood a minister of the Church of Scotland at a crisis in its history, and in that crisis an important figure, Witherspoon heading the opposition to moderatism and

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classics for their disciplinal value and as fundamental to the learned professions and all true scholarship; and, for like reasons, the mathematics as essential to the sciences, whether pursued as bodies of pure knowledge or applied in the arts. But, on the other hand, he found due place for the host of new special studies—literary, historical, political, artistic, technical—demanded by modern life and culture. His inaugural address 'On Academic Teaching in Europe' may be said to have struck the keynote of true academic teaching in America.

"As the representative head of the college, President McCosh was always and everywhere faithful to its Christian traditions. By his writings, lectures and addresses he defended 'Fundamental Truths' in religion no less than in philosophy; he vindicated the 'Method of the Divine Government' physical as well as moral; he set forth the 'Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation' as consistent with evolution; he showed the analogy of 'The Natural and the Supernatural;' and he maintained a logical 'Realism' and 'Theism' against the growing scepticism of the day. At the same time his discriminating conservatism was ever held in hearty sympathy with the modern scientific spirit and his steadfast adherence to the principles of evangelical religion never narrowed his Christian sympathies. A leader in great international alliances and councils of the churches, he also consistently welcomed students of every religious denomination to their chartered privileges within our walls. The representatives of all creeds mingled in his funeral.

"While a commanding figure has passed from public view, there remains among us, who were his nearer associates, the charm of a unique personality and rare Christian character, to be henceforth enshrined in our memories with reverence and affection.

"To his bereaved family we can only tender our deepest sympathy, praying that they may receive those divine consolations which he himself taught during his life and illustrated in peaceful death."

Dr. McCosh helping to form the Free Church. When already past the meridian of life each of them came to America to do his greatest work as president of Princeton, the one arriving in 1768 and the other in 1868. Though of different degrees of eminence in different particulars, they were nevertheless of fundamentally the same character, being philosophers of reality, ministers of evangelical and yet catholic spirit, constructive and aggressive in temper, stimulating as teachers, stout upholders of disciplinary education, men of marked personal independence, of wide interest in public affairs and thoroughly patriotic as Americans. The principles of college government on which Witherspoon acted Dr. McCosh expressly avowed. ' These principles,' he wrote, ' were full of wisdom, tact and kindness. I, without knowing them till afterward, have endeavored to act on the same principles, but more imperfectly. Govern, said he, govern always, but beware of governing too much.' * Their presidencies were long and successful. Each lived the last twenty-six years of his life in Princeton, and it may be noticed as a striking final coincidence that they passed away a century apart, almost to the day—Witherspoon dying November 15, 1794, and Dr. McCosh on November 16, 1894.

" James McCosh was born April 1, 1811, at Carskeoch Farm, on the left bank of the ' bonnie Doon,' just above the village of Patna, some twelve miles from Ayr, the county town of Ayrshire. In this region, so full of inspiring Scottish memories, his boyhood was spent, and in common with so many of his countrymen who have risen to fame he received his first education in the parochial school. In 1824, when but thirteen years old, he entered the University of Glasgow, an institution already famous in the annals of the Scottish philosophy for the teaching of Reid and Hutcheson —a fit place for the young student to begin, who was later to write the history of the Scottish School. Here he remained five years. In 1829 he entered the University of Edinburgh, coming under the influence of Thomas Chalmers and David Welsh in theology and of Sir William Hamilton in philosophy. He had also some strong intellectual compeers among the students of that time. Such, for example, was Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Incidents of Dr. McCosh's youth and student days formed the basis of many an interesting anecdote in his later years. Of such were his remembrances as a boy of the recurring anniversaries when his elders used to pledge with enthusiasm ' the memory of Bobbie Burns.' At other times he would dwell with fondness on one or another loved feature of the home scenery of Ayrshire or the talk of its people. The competition for intellectual honors at

* *John Witherspoon and His Times,* Philadelphia, 1890.

the university formed another theme. Then, too, the strong impress of Sir William Hamilton's personality as well as of his teaching was one of those things that delighted his Princeton pupils to notice, especially as seen in the way he treasured some remark of his great teacher. 'Do you know the greatest thing he ever said to me?' Dr. McCosh asked one day of the writer. 'It was this: So reason as to have but one step between your premise and its conclusion.' The syllogism unified and turned into a rule of conduct! Well might such a vigorous maxim take the imperative form. And how vividly real it made the act of reasoning seem! It was toward the close of his student days at Edinburgh that Dr. McCosh wrote his essay entitled 'The Stoic Philosophy,' in recognition of which the university, upon motion of Sir William Hamilton, conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts.

"In 1835 he was licensed as a minister of the Established Church of Scotland. Toward the close of the same year he was elected by the members of the congregation minister of the Abbey church of Arbroath, the 'Fairport' of Sir Walter Scott's Antiquary, a flourishing town in Forfarshire, on the eastern coast, sixteen miles north of Dundee. While in this parish he made the acquaintance of the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, eight years his senior, the minister of the neighboring parish of Arbilot, and afterwards so celebrated in the Old Greyfriars pulpit in Edinburgh. They were helpful to each other in their pastoral work and counsel, and formed the nucleus of a group of ministers who met to discuss with earnestness the impending dangers to the Church, consequent upon 'intrusion' of ministers upon congregations by the Crown irrespective of the preference of the people. They promptly identified themselves with the view that this subjection of the Church to the Crown was to be brought to an end, advocating, as Dr. McCosh had already done in his Edinburgh student days, what was known as Non-Intrusion. In 1838, on the suggestion of Dr. Welsh, his former teacher, Dr. McCosh was appointed by the Crown to the charge of the church at Brechin, a short distance from Arbroath. Brechin was an attactive old cathedral town with a large outlying country parish. In this arduous charge he labored most assiduously in company with his colleague, the Rev. A. L. R. Foote. Besides attending to his stated church ministrations and the regular visiting of its congregation, he went abroad everywhere, preaching the Gospel in barns, kitchens and taverns, or in the open fields and wherever else he could do good.* His com-

* *Disruption Worthies: A Memorial of 1843.* Edinburgh and London, 1881. The sketch of Dr. McCosh, written by Prof. George Macloskie, is found on pp. 343–348.

munion roll gradually swelled until it included fourteen hundred persons. Meanwhile the ecclesiastical sky was darkening. The Disruption of the Church of Scotland was impending, and when in 1843 it had become inevitable, Dr. McCosh, in common with hundreds of other ministers, surrendered his living. He at once proceeded to organize in his old parish a congregation of the Free Church, into which over eight hundred of his former parishioners followed him. He also rendered great service at this crisis by organizing new congregations, providing them with preachers, raising money and getting sites for the erection of new churches 'A good horseman,' says one of his best newspaper biographies,* 'he rode long distances from place to place and preached in barns, ballrooms or fields, as was found necessary.' In 1843 and the following year he was a member of one of the deputations appointed by the General Assembly to visit various parts of England and arouse Nonconformist interest in the position of the Free Church. In 1845 he was married at Brechin to Miss Isabella Guthrie, daughter of the physician, James Guthrie, and niece of Thomas Guthrie, his friend in his early ministry at Arbroath.

"In this round of active life, with all its details and distractions, he kept alive his philosophical thinking, and in 1850 published at Edinburgh his *Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral.*† It was most favorably reviewed by Hugh Miller and commended by Sir William Hamilton. It brought him at once into prominence as a philosophic writer of thought and clearness.‡

* *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, November 19, 1894.

† "No sooner did McCosh's heavy though pleasant labor in founding congregations of the Free Church relax a little, than he began the composition of *The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral.* During the period of writing the author received much encouragement from his intimate college friend, William Hanna. It was he, likewise, who aided in the work incidental to publication. The author showed his book in manuscript to Dr. Cunningham and Dr. James Buchanan. Both approved, and the latter suggested some changes which were adopted. The volume was published in 1850, and through Dr. Guthrie copies were sent to the two Scotchmen then most eminent in the world of abstract thought, Sir William Hamilton and Hugh Miller. The former announced his decision at once: 'It is refreshing to read a work so distinguished for originality and soundness of thinking, especially as coming from an author of our own country.' Hugh Miller said in the *Witness* that the work was of the compact and thought-eliciting complexion which men do not willingly let die. The first edition was exhausted in six months. An American edition was published very soon afterward, and that, too, sold rapidly. The book passed through twenty editions in less than forty years and still has a sale in both Great Britain and in America. Time, therefore, may be said to have passed its judgment upon the *Divine Government.*"—*Prof. W. M. Sloane's Life of McCosh.*

‡ "The real importance of Dr. McCosh's work in philosophy was to a great extent obscured during his life by a certain lack of appreciation of which he occa-

The story goes that Earl Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, sitting down to read a copy one Sunday morning, became so absorbed in the book that he missed going to church, and read on till evening without stopping, and soon after offered Dr. McCosh the chair of logic and metaphysics in the newly founded Queen's

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sionally complained. 'They won't give me a hearing,' he would say somewhat mournfully. And then he would cheer up under the assuring conviction that realism, as it was the first, would also be the final, philosophy. Dr. McCosh's position in philosophy suffered during his life from a kind of reaction against the Scottish school, which had set in with Mill's destructive criticism of Hamilton. It was also materially affected by the strong movement in the direction of evolutionary empiricism, of which Herbert Spencer was the exponent and leader. The dogmatic and positive tone of Dr. McCosh himself had doubtless something to do with the tendency to undervalue his work. There are other circumstances which must not be overlooked in estimating the value of Dr. McCosh's philosophy. It scarcely ever happens that a man is the best judge of his own work or that the things on which he puts the greatest stress possess the most permanent value. Much of Dr. McCosh's work is of a transitional character. His whole attitude toward evolution, for example, is that of a transitional thinker, and although hospitable to the new, maintains, on the whole, the old points of view. Dr. McCosh, it may be said, accepted evolution provisionally, but he could scarcely be called an evolutionary thinker. Again, it is true of Dr. McCosh, as of most other men, that the principle and content of his work must be distinguished from the form in which he embodied it. Generally it is a failure to distinguish the principle from the accidental form that constitutes one of the greatest limitations of any thinker. This is certainly true of Dr. McCosh. The essence of all his doctrines was so associated in his mind with a certain mode of conceiving and stating them as to make the form seem essential to the doctrine. An example of this is his theory of natural realism in the sphere of perception, in which a certain mode of apprehending the object was deemed essential to the assertion of reality itself. Leaving out of view, however, accidental features and elements of a merely transitional character, it seems to me that Dr. McCosh has contributed several elements of distinct value to the thinking of his time. One of these is to be found in his treatment of the intuitions. At the time Dr. McCosh first became interested in the problems of speculation, intuitionism had suffered a kind of eclipse in the writings of Sir William Hamilton, whose attempt to combine Scottish epistemology with Kantian metaphysics had resulted in a purely negative theory of such intuitive principles, for example, as causality. Dr. McCosh harked back to Reid and reasserted the pure Scottish position against the unnatural hybrid of the Hamiltonian metaphysics. But he is not to be regarded as simply a reasserter of Reid. His wide acquaintance with the history of philosophy, as well as his keener faculty of criticism, led to a more careful and discriminating analysis of the intuitive principles of the mind as well as to a more philosophical statement of them. He also connected them with the three epistemological functions of cognition, judgment and belief, in such a way as to bring them into closer relation with experience, and by recognizing a distinction between their cognitive and rational forms to admit the agency of an empirical process in their passage from the singular to the more general stage of their apprehension. Of course, where the reality of intuitive principles is denied, Dr. McCosh's interpretation of them will not be appreciated. But inasmuch as the affirmation of native elements in some form is likely to continue, the contribution of Dr. McCosh to intuitional thinking is likely to be

College, in Belfast. Dr. McCosh accepted the offer, removing to Belfast in 1852, and continuing there until he came to Princeton. His class-room was notable in many ways—for his brilliant lecturing, his interesting method of questioning, his solicitude for his students and their enthusiasm for him. Besides fulfilling his regu-

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one of permanent value. The one point on which Dr. McCosh was most strenuous was that of realism. He had a kind of phobia of all idealistic or phenomenal theories. This rendered him somewhat unduly impatient of these theories, and they sometimes received scant justice at his hands. But whatever his failings as a critic there was no ambiguity about his own point of view. He was the doughtiest kind of a realist, ready at all times to break a lance in defense of his belief. Here as elsewhere, in estimating the value of Dr. McCosh's work, it is necessary to observe the distinction between the principle and the form of his doctrine. Perhaps few thinkers at present would accept the unmodified form of his realism. But the positions he had most at heart, namely, that philosophy must start with reality if it would end with it, and that philosophy misses its aim if it misses reality and stops in the negations of positivism or Kantism :—these are positions which a very wide school of thinkers have very much at heart. Dr. McCosh's realism is a tonic which invigorates the spirit that comes into contact with it and indisposes it to any sort of indolent acquiescence in a negative creed. In harking back to Reid, Dr. McCosh was recognizing intellectual kinship in more ways than one. The spirit of Reid, while pretty positive and dogmatic, was also inductive and observational. Reid hated speculation, and would not employ it except at the behest of practical needs. Dr. McCosh was a man of kindred spirit. His distrust of speculation amounted at times, I think, to a positive weakness. But his shrewd common sense, combined with a genius for observation and an intense love of fact, constituted perhaps the most marked quality of his mind. It has kept his work fresh and interesting, packed his books with new and interesting facts and shrewd observations and has made them rich treasure-houses for those who come after him. This is especially true in his psychological work. Here, where on account of the rapid advance of psychology in both method and content, the results of his generation of workers are fast becoming inadequate to the new demands, it ought not be forgotten that Dr. McCosh was almost the pioneer of a new departure in psychology in this country ; that his was the most potent in the advocacy of that marriage of the old science of introspection with physiology, out of which the new physiological psychology arose ; that his example was potent in advocating the substitution of an observational for a closet psychology ; and that while he contributed little to experimental results, the influence of his spirit and teaching was strongly favorable to them. Perhaps in the end it will be seen that Dr. McCosh rendered his most lasting service in the sphere of religious thought. In view of the tendency in many quarters to divorce philosophy from religion and insist that philosophy has no legitimate interest in the problems of religion, the attitude of Dr. McCosh is reassuring. That the problems of religion are the supreme and final questions in philosophy, and that no philosophy is adequate that is unable to find some rational justification, at least, for a theistic view of the world :—these were points on which he insisted as cardinal. Dr McCosh was a profound thinker who saw clearly the necessity of a metaphysical groundwork of both morals and religion. His own theistic conviction was at all times firm and unclouded. But aside from the form of his individual beliefs his insistence on the questions of God's existence and man's relation to Him as the vitalest issues of philosophy, contains an important lesson for the time.

lar duties, he served as an examiner for the Queen's University of Ireland, as a member of the distinguished Board of Examiners who organized the first competitive examinations for the Civil Service of India, and as an examiner for the Furgusson Scholarships, open to graduates of Scottish universities.* In 1858 he visited the principal schools and universities of Prussia, carefully acquainting himself with their organization and methods and publishing his opinions regarding them in 1859. It was at Belfast he brought out his *Examination of Mr. J. S. Mill's Philosophy*, *Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation* (in conjunction with Prof. George Dickie), *The Intuitions of the Mind*, †

In this connection, also, his relation to the evolution theory is noteworthy. It was in the religious aspect of this theory, and especially its bearing on theism, that he was most vitally interested. He early saw that a theistic conception of development was possible, and this prevented him from adopting the view of its extreme opponents and condemning it as necessarily atheistic and irreligious. He maintained the possibility of conceiving evolution from a theistic basis as a feature of the method of Divine government, and this led him to take a hospitable attitude towards the evolution idea, while at the same time it enabled him to become the most formidable critic of evolution in its really atheistic and irreligious forms. This treatment of the problem of evolution by a religious thinker possesses more than a transitional value. It correctly embodies, I think, the wisest and most philosophical attitude which a religious mind can take towards the advances of science during that period of uncertainty which ordinarily precedes the final adjustment of the new into the framework of established truth. On the question of Dr McCosh's originality, I think this may be said : While it is true that he has added no distinctively new idea to philosophy, yet his work possesses originality in that it not only responded to the demands of the time, but also bears the stamp of the author's striking and powerful individuality. The form of Dr. McCosh's discussions is always fresh, characteristic and original. He was an original worker in that his work bore the stamp of his time and personality and constituted part and parcel of the living energy of his generation."—*Prof. A. T. Ormond.*

* The *Northern Whig*, Belfast, November 19, 1894.

† "The positive characterization of modern Princeton must begin with a description of its dominant mode of thinking, which is the philosophical. This is one of our many inheritances from Dr. McCosh. So habituated to this habit of mind is the Princeton teacher, that he hardly realizes the strength of this prevailing tendency. A Harvard man is apt to measure things by literary standards, and a Harvard graduate who comes as an instructor to Princeton is apt to be surprised to find how pervasive and all but universal is this philosophical temper here. It is this cast or mode of thinking, rather than strict uniformity in philosophical beliefs, which is the most striking feature of the University's intellectual life. Traditionally, Princeton is committed to a realistic metaphysics as opposed to agnosticism, materialism or idealism. The far-reaching importance of the last is, indeed, admitted, but the maturer judgment of Princeton's philosophers inclines to the acknowledgment of 'a refractory element' in experience, which, while 'without form and void,' unless enmeshed in the categories of Reason, refuses 'wholly to merge its being in a network of relations.' They prefer, therefore, to admit the existence of an impasse to a complete intellectual unification of the universe, than to pur-

and *The Supernatural in Relation to the Natural.* In his church relations he was both an active promoter of evangelical piety and an efficient helper in ecclesiastical counsels. He helped to organize the Ministerial Support Fund of the Irish Presbyterian Church, seeking to evoke liberality and self-support in view of the coming disendowment. In the face of much opposition he advocated giving up the *Regium Donum.* Arguments he used in this discussion were afterwards influential with Mr. Gladstone in connection with the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland.* He advocated a system of intermediate schools to prepare for higher institutions of learning, and particularly labored for the great cause of a general system of national elementary schools. His own pupils attained marked success in the examinations for the Civil Service and some of them became very eminent, one of them being Sir Robert Hart, the present chief of the Chinese Customs Service. He was not a man who could be hid, and so there is little to wonder at in the distinction he earned, whether evidenced by the respect of men like Chalmers, Guthrie, Hugh Miller, Sir William Hamilton, Dean Mansel, the present Duke of Argyll, and Mr. Gladstone, the kindly humor of Thackeray or the flings of Ruskin and sharp rejoinders of John Stuart Mill.

"Dr. McCosh paid his first visit to America in 1866, receiving a hearty welcome. In June, 1868, he was called to the presidency of Princeton. He accepted the call after due deliberation, and arrived at Princeton, October 22, of the same year. The story of the low condition of Princeton at that time, consequent upon the Civil War, does not need to be told here. So far as equipment and numbers can speak the tale is soon told. Excepting a few professors' houses, there are now on the campus only six buildings which were owned by the college when Dr. McCosh arrived. They are Nassau Hall, the old president's (now the dean's) house, the old chapel, the College Offices, East College and West College. There were but sixteen instructors in the faculty, and about 250 students.

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chase metaphysical unity at the cost of surrendering the judgments of common sense, and at the risk of discovering that the hoped-for treasure is but dross at the last."—*Prof. W. M. Daniels, The Critic, October 24, 1896.*

* "The ecclesiastical condition of Ireland was at that time anomalous; the rich Episcopalian minority being sustained as an Established Church, a sop thrown to the Presbyterian middle-class minority in the shape of a *regium donum,* or partial endowment, which helped them to acquiesce in the wrong done to the Roman Catholic majority, who were poor and left out in the cold. When the right time arrived, Dr. McCosh lectured and wrote in favor of Disestablishment and Disendowment, and argued from his experience in Scotland for the inauguration of a Sustentation Fund by the Irish Presbyterians. This was the opening of a struggle which ended in the carrying out of all his views greatly to the furtherance of religion, as the people of Ireland now confess."—*Prof. George Macloskie in Sloane's Life of McCosh,* pp. 120, 121.

"The institution was depleted, salaries were low and academic standards had suffered, both in the way of scholarship and discipline. It had been a discouraging time in Princeton's history, and the self-denial of President Maclean and the band of professors who went with the college through the war, has been only too slightly appreciated. The writer entered Princeton as a Freshman in January, 1870, when the beginnings of Dr. McCosh's power were being manifested. His influence was like an electric shock, instantaneous, paralyzing to opposition and stimulating to all who were not paralyzed. Old student disorders were taken in hand and throttled after a hard struggle, outdoor sports and gymnastics were developed as aids to academic order, strong professors were added, the course of study was both deepened and widened, the ever-present energy of Dr. McCosh was daily in evidence, and great gifts were coming in. Every one felt the new life. When the Bonner-Marquand Gymnasium was opened in 1870, the students' cheering was enough to rend the roof. It was more than cheering for the new gymnasium—it was for the new era.

"It is not possible in this sketch to tell the story of the twenty years from 1868 to 1888, but the results may be indicated.* The campus was enlarged and converted into a splendid park, every detail of convenience and beauty being consulted in the transformation.† The old walks were replaced with something substan-

* "A member of the first class that entered Princeton under the presidency of Dr. McCosh, I am called here to speak not for myself alone, but in the name of two thousand old pupils who would pay the tribute of honor and love to the memory of our grand old man. We loved him because he loved Princeton. He was born in Scotland, but he was born an American and Princetonian. If you could have opened his heart you would have found Princeton written there. He was firmly convinced that his college, with its history, its traditions and its Christian faith, was predestined to become one of the great American universities. 'It is the will of God,' he said, 'and I will do it.' A noble man, with a noble purpose, makes noble friends. Enthusiasm is contagious. Dr. McCosh laid the foundation of Princeton University broad and deep and strong; and he left behind him a heritage of enthusiasm, a Princetonian spirit which will complete his work and never fail. We love him because he loved truth, and welcomed it from whatever quarter of the wide heaven it might come. He had great confidence in God as the source of truth and the eternal defender of His true Word. He did not conceive that anything would be discovered which God had not made. He did not suppose that anything would be evolved which God had not intended from the beginning. The value of his philosophy of common sense was very great. But he taught his students something far more precious—to love reality in religion as in science, to respect all honest work and to reverence every fact of nature and consciousness as a veritable revelation from Almighty God."—*The Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke's address at Dr. McCosh's burial.*

† "I remember," said Dr. McCosh, "the first view which I got of the pleasant height on which the college stands, the highest ground between the two great cities of the Union, looking down on a rich country, covered with

tial, grading and planting were carried out on an extensive scale, the drainage was remodeled, and many other such things, which seem small separately, but mean so much collectively, were attended to. The following buildings were added: The Halsted Observatory in 1869, the Gymnasium in 1869–70, Reunion Hall and Dickinson Hall in 1870, the Chancellor Green Library and the John C. Green School of Science in 1873, University Hall in 1876, Witherspoon Hall in 1877, the Observatory of Instruction in 1878, Murray Hall in 1879, Edwards Hall in 1880, the Marquand Chapel in 1881, the Biological Laboratory in 1887, and the Art Museum about the same time. The administrative side of the college was invigorated in many ways, a dean being added to the executive officering in 1883. The faculty was gradually built up by importation of professors from other institutions, and afterwards by training Princeton men as well. Twenty-four of Dr. McCosh's pupils are now in the faculty. The course of study was revised and made modern, without giving up the historical essentials of liberal education. Elective studies were introduced and developed, and the relating of the elective to the prescribed studies in one harmonious system was always kept in view. To the old academic course of four years, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science and Civil Engineer were added, and graduate courses leading to the university degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and Doctor of Science were organized.* The entrance requirements were improved in quality and were exacted with more firmness. The interior relations of the various departments of study to each

wheat and corn, with apples and peaches, resembling the south of England as much as one country can be like another. Now we see that height covered with buildings, not inferior to those of any other college in America. I have had great pleasure in my hours of relaxation in laying out—always assisted by the late Rev. William Harris, the treasurer of the college—the grounds and walks, and locating the buildings. I have laid them out somewhat on the model of the demesnes of English noblemen. I have always been healthiest when so employed. I remember the days, sunshiny or cloudy, in April and November, on which I cut down dozens of deformed trees and shrubs and planted large numbers of new ones which will live when I am dead. I do not believe that I will be allowed to come back from the other world to this; but if this were permitted I might be allured to visit these scenes so dear to me, and to see the tribes on a morning go up to the house of God in companies."—*Life of Dr. McCosh*, pp. 195, 196.

* "Indeed the traditional university constitution—a semi-monastic life, fixed terms of college residence, adherence to old academic custom, and a hierarchy of degrees—is found nowhere in more vigor than at Princeton. The true future of Princeton lies not in the development of professional schools, nor in the pursuit of utilitarian studies, but in both the college and the graduate department is inseparably bound up with the cause of pure academic culture and learning."—*Prof. W. M. Daniels, The Critic, October 24, 1896.*

other and to the general culture of the student were gradually better adjusted, and beginnings of specialized study founded on general culture were instituted. The use of the library was made of importance as a help to the students' regular class work. The two literary societies, Whig and Clio, were relieved of the distress under which they had suffered from secret societies by exterminating these societies, and helped in their friendly rivalry by the establishment of additional college honors open to their competition. Old class-room and chapel disorders slowly gave way before better buildings and improved instruction. Useful auxiliaries to the curriculum were encouraged, and, in particular, the president's "Library Meeting" was started. Here, month after month, the upper classmen met in large numbers to hear some paper by Dr. McCosh, some professor from Princeton or elsewhere, some bright alumnus or scholar attached to a university. Distinguished strangers got into the habit of coming to see the college, and such visits as those of General Grant and other American dignitaries, and of the German professors Dorner and Christlieb, of the Duke of Argyll, of Froude and of Matthew Arnold were greatly enjoyed. And so by slowly working agencies a change in the way of growth, now rapid and now apparently checked, was taking place. The impoverished small college was being renovated, uplifted and expanded. It was put on its way toward a university life.* Its faculty and students increased, until in 1888 the sixteen instructors had become a body of forty-three and the students were over six hundred. Yet this gratifying increase is not the great thing. It might have come and amounted to little more than a diffusion of weakness. But it was qualitative as well as quantitative, for the college was steadily producing men, and a body of men having an intense *esprit du corps* of great value for the future solidarity of Princeton.

* "I think it proper to state," wrote Dr. McCosh, "that I meant all along that these new and varied studies with their groupings and combinations should lead to the formation of a *Studium Generale*, which was supposed in the Middle Ages to constitute a university. At one time I cherished a hope that I might be honored to introduce such a measure. From my intimate acquaintance with the system of Princeton and other colleges I was so vain as to think that out of our available materials I could have constructed a university of a high order. I would have embraced in it all that is good in our college; in particular I would have seen that it was pervaded with religion, as the college is. I was sure that such a step would have been followed by a large outflow of liberality on the part of the public, such as we enjoyed in the early days of my presidency. We had had the former rain and I hoped we might have the latter rain, and we could have given the institution a wider range of usefulness in the introduction of new branches and the extension of post-graduate studies. But this privilege has been denied me."—*Life of McCosh*, pp. 213, 214.

For Dr. McCosh not only left his indelible mark upon them singly, but fused their youthful enthusiasms into one mastering passion for Princeton as a coming university, democratic in its student life, moved by the ideas of discipline and duty, unified in its intellectual culture, open to the core. His relations with the students were intimate and based on his fixed conviction that upon them ultimately rested the fate of Princeton. This conviction meant more than that he saw in young men the coming men. 'A college depends,' he once said, 'not on its president or trustees or professors, but on the character of the students and the homes they come from. If these change, nothing can stop the college changing.' To his eyes the movement that determined everything was the movement from below upward and outward, and the business of president, trustees and professors was to make this mass of raw material into the best product possible—but, first of all, the material must be sound if there is to be success in the product. The philosopher of elemental reality * was never more true to his principles than just here. Given, however, a body of students of sound stock, he felt sure the desired results in their discipline and culture were obtainable by intelligent and patient treatment. First of all, as the negative condition of success, he insisted that idleness be done away with, otherwise nothing could be done to counteract the positive vices to which idleness gives occasion, and nothing to develop the mind by wholesome exercise. Next on his programme came an orderly and regular course of study to be pursued by the student without faltering. Then, in order to bind all the student's life into one and place him in the right direction, he depended upon the sense of moral responsibility, quickened and energized by Christian truth.†

* "The last remark by Dr. McCosh in this chapel was a memorable one. It was given several years ago on a Sunday evening in the simple religious service held here in the close of the day. He had been asked repeatedly once more to preach in the pulpit from which he had so often spoken, but had declined from a fear that he might not be able to endure the strain. This simple and less exhausting service he readily undertook. On the occasion to which I refer he read with a touching emphasis St. Paul's 13th chapter of First Corinthians, that wonderful chapter in which the apostle discourses on charity. Having ended the reading, he gave a brief analysis of its points, remarking on the great climax of the last verse, 'And now abideth faith, hope and charity, but the greatest of these is charity.' Then he announced his purpose of saying a few words on the first clause of the 9th verse, and read it slowly, and those who heard it will not forget the scene as he said, 'For we know in part,' instantly adding with an almost triumphant tone, 'But we know.' "—*Dr. James O. Murray.*

† "I should sadly fail in doing any justice to the memory of Dr. McCosh did I not lay a special emphasis on the Christian element in his administration. Amid all his high ambitions and large plans and unsparing labors for the col-

"It was a simple programme, and great as it was simple.* His capacity for detail was marvelous, and hence he could meet special individual needs as well as plan on the general scale. It seems as though his sanity of judgment and constant endeavor to develop normal character was the very thing that enabled him to recognize the kind and extent of departure from the normal standard in any student at any stage of development. Once he met a rather pompous undergraduate, who announced with some impressiveness that he could no longer stay in the Church of his fathers, as he needed something more satisfying, and that he felt it proper to acquaint Dr. McCosh with the great fact. The sole reply was, 'You'll do no such thing.' And so it turned out. In answer to a cautiously worded long question put by a member of the faculty, in order to discover whether some one charged with a certain duty had actually performed it, the answer came like a shot, 'He did.' No more! How short he could be! To an instructor in philosophy whom he wished to impress with the reality of the

lege, he never forgot, and his faculty was never allowed to forget, that it should maintain the character and do the work of a Christian college. He believed profoundly that education must have a Christian basis. He was loyal to all the traditions of the past, and he sought to administer the office he held in the spirit of its noble charter. It was under his guidance that the practice of administering the Holy Communion at the beginning and close of the college year was instituted. It was to him a source of the truest joy when this beautiful chapel was reared by the generosity of its donor. He wrote the graceful inscription on yonder tablet. In private and in public, in active coöperation with the Christian Society of the college, and in many a confidential talk with his students on the great themes of religion, he sought always to develop the Christian element in college life. I do not think he favored the idea of a college church. In fact, though a Presbyterian by deep conviction, he avoided anything which would divert attention from his own aim to make the college Christian rather than denominational. The catholicity of his spirit here was full and large. The legacy of devotion to the Christian element in college life he has left us is indeed a sacred and abiding one."—*Dr. James O. Murray.*

* "What a figure he has been in Princeton history! I need not describe him. You can never forget him. You see him tall and majestic; his fine head resting on stooping shoulders; his classic face, with a voice like a trumpet; magisterial; with no mock humility—expecting the full deference that was due his office, his years and his work. Here is the fruit of his life: the books he has written; the college that he has built; the alumni all over the land who are his greatest pupils. Through a quarter of a century and more he lived among us—a stalwart man, with an iron will: no mimosa he, sensitive, shrinking and shriveling at the touch of criticism; but a sturdy oak that storms might wrestle with but only heaven's lightning could hurt; loyal to conscience; deep in conviction; tender of heart; living in communion with God, and loving the Word of God as he loved no other book; he was the president who woke the admiration, and touched the hearts, and kindled the enthusiasm of Princeton men. No wonder they were fond of him."—*President Patton's Memorial Sermon.*

external world as against the teachings of idealism, he said with a sweep of his hand toward the horizon, 'It is there, it is there! You know it! Teach it!' Then, too, he was shrewd. In the case of a student, who pleaded innocence though his delinquency was apparent to the doctor, who nevertheless wanted to be easy with him, the verdict was: 'I accept your statement. You'll not do so again.' On one occasion a visiting clergyman, conducting evening chapel service, made an elaborate prayer, including in his petitions all the officers of the college, arranged in order from the president to trustees, professors and tutors. There was great applause at the last item. At the faculty meeting immediately after the service the doctor, in commenting upon the disorder, aptly remarked, 'He should have had more sense than to pray for the tutors.' His consciousness of mastery was so naïve that he cared little for surface disorder in the class-room, so far as his confidence in being able to meet it was involved, but cared a great deal if he found himself at a dead point in the course over which he felt he must carry the class.* Here the dullards, the apathetic, the drones, the light-witted and especially the provokers of disorder came in for a castigation of the most interesting kind. 'Sit down, sir,' sometimes served both to suppress a tumult and at the same time waken a mind that had never been awake before. He could talk to men with a severity and a tone of command few would dare employ. Though the most indifferent could not fail to see he was terribly in earnest at times, they also saw his hearty and deep affection for them. 'A man of granite with the heart of a child,' is an undergraduate's estimate of the old doctor.†

* "Dr. McCosh was preëminently a teacher. His place with Wayland and Mark Hopkins and Woolsey among the great college presidents of America is due in no small degree to the fact that like them he was a teacher. I know that I speak the sentiments of some who hold a position similar to mine in other institutions when I say that the increase of executive duties that draws the president from the classroom is a misfortune. It would have been an irreparable loss, to be made up by no amount of efficiency and success in other directions, for Dr. McCosh to have withdrawn from the position of teacher while he was able to teach. For he was a superb teacher. He knew what he believed and why he believed it, and he taught it with a moral earnestness that enforced attention. . . . . There are teachers who handle a great subject in a great way, with no lack of sympathy or humor and a large knowledge of human nature; who win your confidence and stimulate your ambition; who make you eager to read, and who send you out of the lecture room with your heart divided between your admiration of the man and your interest in his theme. Dr. McCosh was a teacher of this kind. No mere closet-philosopher was he; no cold-blooded overseer; but a teaching member of the faculty in which he sat; a man of heart as well as brain, who could feel as well as think, and who could be both hot and tender."—*President Patton's Memorial Sermon.*

† "In matters of administration Dr. McCosh, without being in any sense

"A pleasant picture of the impression he made on another man of simple heart and strong nature is preserved in a letter of President Mark Hopkins of Williams College, written after Dr. McCosh had visited Williamstown. It may well be inserted here. 'That visit,' he writes, 'is among my most pleasant recollections. It was during the summer vacation; the weather was fine, and we were quite at leisure to stroll about the grounds and ride over the hills. Riding thus, we reached, I remember, a point which he said reminded him of Scotland. There we alighted. At once he bounded into the fields like a young man, passed up the hillside, and, casting himself at full length under a shade, gave himself up for a time to the associations and inspiration of the scene. I seem to see him now, a man of world-wide reputation, lying thus solitary among the hills. They were draped in a dreamy haze suggestive of poetic inspiration, and, from his quiet but evidently intense enjoyment, he might well, if he had not been a great metaphysician, have been taken for a great poet. And, indeed, though he had revealed himself chiefly on the metaphysical side, it was evident that he shared largely in that happy temperament of which Shakespeare and Tennyson are the best examples, in which metaphysics and poetry seem to be fused into one and become identical.' *

"About his personality numberless stories have been gathered, illustrative of his various traits. He was the constant theme of student talk, even to his slightest peculiarities. The 'young

autocratic, managed to exercise a good deal of authority. For there is no nice provision of checks and balances in the government of a college. The three estates of trustees, faculty and undergraduates constitute an organism that furnishes a fine opportunity for experiments in political theories. The government may be monarchical or republican or patriarchal. It may do its work after the fashion of the American Congress or the English Parliament. It may be unicameral or bicameral, as the trustees choose or do not choose to put all power in the hands of the faculty. But by the charter of the college the president is invested with a power that belongs to no one else. He ought to be very discreet, very wise, very open to suggestion and very good-natured; but when he is sure that he is right, very resolute. I imagine that Dr. McCosh was as good a man as one could find anywhere to have so much power in his hands. He had the insight to know when the trustees were more important than the faculty, and when the faculty were wiser than the trustees; and he belonged to both bodies. He was shrewd, sagacious, penetrating and masterful. If there had been a weatherwise man among us he would sometimes have hoisted the storm signals over the college offices, for the Doctor was a man of like passions with us all. He carried the *in loco parentis* theory of government further than some are disposed to have it carried to-day. The students loved him and he loved them. He was faithful with them; spoke plainly to them; as a father with his sons he was severe; and also as a father he was tender and kind."—*President Patton's Memorial Sermon.*

* *New York Observer*, Thursday, May 13, 1869.

barbarians all at play ' were fond of these, and yet with reverence for him.* Who can forget some of the doctor's favorite hymns? No one, surely, who heard two of them sung with deep tenderness at his burial. Dr. McCosh gave up the presidency June 20, 1888, passing the remainder of his days at his newly built home on Prospect avenue. His figure was well-known among us these last years, as he took his walks in the village or out into the country or under the elms of the McCosh walk, or sat in his place in the Marquand Chapel. His interest in the college never abated. Yet he did not interfere in it after he left it. As President Patton has observed: ' He was more than a model president. He was a model ex-president.' Nor did he lose sight of ' my boys,' his former pupils. At the annual reunions of classes it became the custom to march in a body to see him at his home. He ' knew them,' even if not always by name. Yet he would astonish many a one by recalling some personal incident that might well be supposed to be forgotten. Nearly one hundred and twenty of his pupils have followed his example in devoting themselves to the cause of the higher learning. Some of them have failed to follow the old doctor's philosophy in all its bearings, some may have diverged otherwise, but no one, I feel sure, has failed to carry away a conviction of the reality of truth and of the nobility of pursuing it, as well as at least a reverence for the Christian religion. On April 1, 1891, his eightieth birthday occurred. It was duly honored. The day was literally given over to the old doctor. The president, the trustees, the faculty as a body, the students, the alumni, the residents of Princeton and distant personal friends were present or represented. His last really public appearance was at the International Congress of Education held in connection

* JAMES McCOSH.

1811–1894.

Young to the end, through sympathy with youth,
Gray man of learning! champion of truth!
Direct in rugged speech, alert in mind,
He felt his kinship with all human kind,
And never feared to trace development
Of high from low—assured and full content
That man paid homage to the Mind above,
Uplifted by the royal law of Love.

The laws of nature that he loved to trace
Have worked, at last, to veil from us his face;
The dear old elms and ivy-colored walls
Will miss his presence, and the stately halls
His trumpet-voice. While in their joys
Sorrow will shadow those he called "my boys."

November 17, 1894. —*Robert Bridges, '79.*

with the World's Columbian Exhibition at Chicago, in July, 1893. The popular interest and the interest of education in him was such as to make him the most noted figure there. Other presidents and institutions joined cordially in doing him honor, and his presence at the Princeton section of the university exhibits was the occasion for a demonstration of affection from his old pupils.

"On Sunday, 28th, 1894, he was as usual in his place in the chapel. It was his last appearance there. Within a day or two he gave such evidence of failing strength that his end was seen to be near. Without the stroke of disease, clear-minded to the last, at his own home, and surrounded by all his family, he peacefully passed away at ten o'clock in the night of Friday, November 16, 1894. The students whom he had never taught, but who loved him, rang the bell of Nassau Hall to tell Princeton that Dr. McCosh was dead.

'"Fórtis vir sapiensque' is part of the epitaph of one of the Scipios. It describes Dr. McCosh. But he was more than a strong and wise man. He discerned," concludes Professor West, "so far as to distinguish between the transient and the enduring, the illusory and the real, in character, in thought, in education and in religion. He sought and laid hold on 'the things that cannot be shaken.' And they will 'remain.' For as one of his pupils well said when we turned home from his grave, 'He was himself one of the evidences of the Christian religion.'" †

On the resignation of Dr. McCosh, the trustees elected as his successor the Rev. Dr. Francis Landey Patton, professor of ethics in the college, professor also in Princeton Theological Seminary. He was inaugurated on the twentieth of June, 1888. Those who, on that occasion, spoke for the faculty and the alumni, while expressing gratitude for the past career of the college and loyalty to its "distinctly Christian basis," expressed the hope also that the name

* See *Harper's Weekly*, April, 1891.

† "He was a great man and he was a good man. Eager as he was for the material and intellectual advancement of the college, he thought even more of its moral and religious tone. He was an earnest and able preacher, and his trumpet gave no uncertain sound. Alike in speculative philosophy and in practical morals he was always on the Christian side. He never stood in a doubtful attitude toward the Gospel and never spoke a word that would compromise its truths. So that when I think of his long career and what he did and how he lived I am reminded of the apostle who was so consciously devoted to the service of the Gospel that he could not conceive himself as under any circumstances doing anything that would hinder it, and who said in the words that I have placed at the beginning of this discourse: 'We can do nothing against the truth but for the truth.'"—*President Patton's Memorial Sermon.*

"university" would soon be adopted. "We shall be glad," said Dr. Henry van Dyke, speaking for the alumni, "when the last swaddling band of an outgrown name drops from the infant, and the College of New Jersey stands up straight in the centre of the Middle States as the University of Princeton." The new president, sharing in the general desire, answered in his inaugural discourse the questions, "What is a university and what kind of a university ought Princeton to be?" Inheriting from the previous administration the ideal of a university and the beginning of its realization, the present president has labored with conspicuous success to make this ideal actual. The faculty of instruction has been largely increased, the departments have been more highly organized, and additional courses for undergraduates and graduate students have been established. The number of students has risen during Dr. Patton's administration from six hundred to eleven hundred; and more States and countries are represented in the student body to-day than at any previous period. Leaving out of view the gifts and foundations which have been made in connection with the Sesqui-centennial celebration, not only have additional endowments been secured and real property of great value to the college been acquired during the past eight years, but as many as eight new buildings have been erected.

The remarkable development of the institution along the lines just indicated, during the present administration and the administration immediately preceding it, determined the board of trust to apply for a change in its corporate name. It was thought that the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the grant of the first charter would offer a suitable occasion for the change of the name from the College of New Jersey to Princeton University, and the Sesqui-centennial celebration was projected. In this celebration the president of the United States, the governor of New Jersey, representatives of foreign universities and of the universities and learned societies of the United States united with the president, the trustees, the faculty, the patrons, the alumni and the undergraduates of the college, and the citizens of Princeton in commemorating with joy and gratitude the great and beneficent career of the College of New Jersey. The appropriateness of the celebration and the propriety of the new name were cordially and unanimously acknowledged. The addresses during the celebration as well as the responses to the invitations to assist in the academic festival embodied the feeling expressed in the legend inscribed on one of the arches:

Ave Salve Universitas Princetoniensis!

PRINCETON. JOHN DEWITT.